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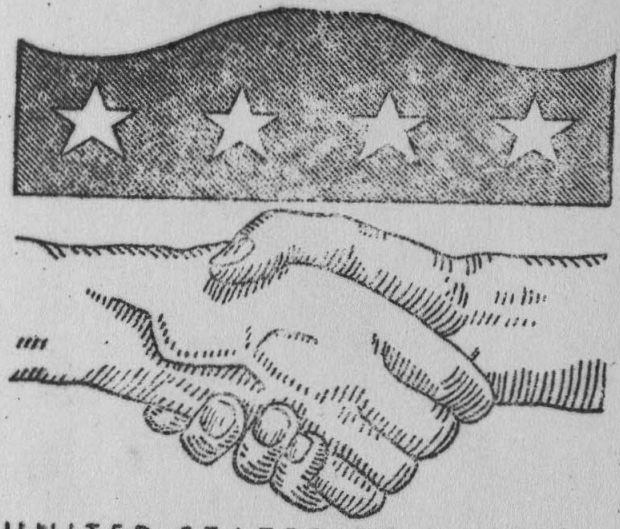
Curriculum development *as* re-education *of the teacher*

By GEORGE SHARP, Ed.D.



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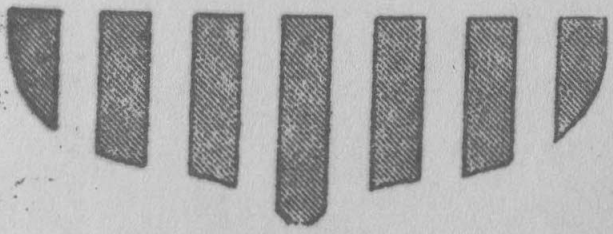

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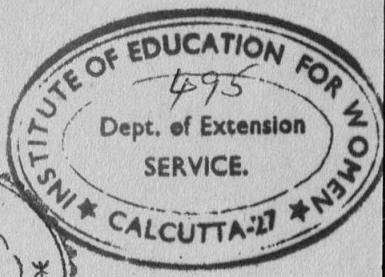

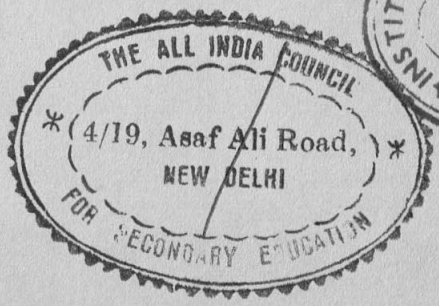

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Preface

THE PURPOSE of this monograph is to aid educational leaders in analyzing the basic problems of re-education involved in curriculum development. It is written for those who have direct personal contact with teachers, an understanding of modern curriculum trends, and a desire to introduce them into their schools. The emphasis is on the initiatory phase of the process, and, while the study is directed toward no particular school level, a mental image of a secondary school was in mind throughout the writing.

The main thesis is that the curriculum develops basically as the result of the development of teachers' personalities. Two major areas were investigated for clues to the problem. Broadly speaking, social psychology was searched for an understanding of the process of personality change, and psychotherapy was studied for ideas as to how to facilitate the process. What was found out has been set down in, it is hoped, a comprehensible rather than a comprehensive form.

This is no integration of conclusions drawn from a well-studied field, no attempt at a system for curriculum development. No effort has been made to prove anything. Uncharted areas have been nosed into. Where studies were available, they have been cited. However, a number of personal observations and hypotheses have also been included which should be tested before being accepted. If curriculum workers in the field are helped by it, and if, as a result, more thinking and research in the area of re-education are stimulated, the purpose of this undertaking will have been well served.

I want to acknowledge my indebtedness to Professor Roma Gans, counselor to many, and to Professor Goodwin Watson,

who opened up to me the possibilities of a rational explanation for the nonrational. I also want to thank Dean Hollis L. Caswell and Professors Ruth Cunningham and Nicholas Hobbs for their helpful criticisms and suggestions. Finally, to Professor Gordon N. Mackenzie, my heartfelt appreciation and gratitude for all he has done.

GEORGE SHARP

February 5, 1951

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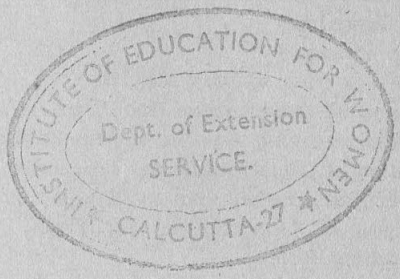

Curriculum Development as Re-education of the Teacher

CHAPTER ONE

Curriculum Development and Re-education

THE PRESENT VIEW of the curriculum is that it consists of all the educative experiences under the conscious guidance of the school. This conception differs from the older idea of the curriculum as a body of subject matter to be learned. Just as the assigned lesson was the basic unit in the older definition, so "an experience" is the unit in the new. In the over-all, it means a rounded program of living for every child as opposed to the curriculum as a series of lessons or a collection of courses. Finally, in this modern view, the curriculum is not confined to the classroom but flows out into the life of the school and beyond the school itself. As Caswell puts it:

> The design of the curriculum . . . must be a function of the entire environment of the child, not just that of the school and the generalized aspects of the culture. It must include out-of-school activities as well as in-school activities. Recreation, health, creative activities, home adjustment, and the like, should be taken into account quite as much as problem-solving and work situations in the classroom.[1]

In short, the curriculum is a series of experiences which are guided in such a way that each child has a rounded program of living, a conception that is broader and more realistic than that formerly held.

[1] Third Yearbook of the John Dewey Society, *Democracy and the Curriculum*, edited by Harold Rugg (New York, Appleton-Century-Crofts, Inc., 1939), p. 418.

CURRICULUM DEVELOPMENT AND TEACHER GROWTH

The teacher is the key figure in the process of guiding children in their experiences, for it is he who has direct and prolonged contact with them. The quality of these experiences rests largely on the kind of person the teacher is. His background, his insights, his sensitivity, and his effectiveness determine to a great extent the caliber of the work accomplished in the school.

It follows, then, that if children's experiences are to be improved, that is to say, if the curriculum is to be developed, the teacher must grow as a person.[2] This growth cannot be confined to classroom practice alone; the total personality must be helped to grow.

This, of course, is not the whole story in so far as curriculum development is concerned. Many other factors have to be taken into account, such as adequate financing, state requirements, the social prestige of traditional subjects, the attitudes of the administration and the community, and similar considerations of importance. However, while the development of teachers' personalities is not the only factor to be considered in curriculum development, it is the thesis here that it is the crucial factor.

THE PROBLEM IS ONE OF REORIENTATION

In moving from the older conception of the curriculum to the new, the problem is not so much a matter of the teacher's having to unlearn all he has learned and start all over again as a matter of his reorienting himself to the school situation.

In both conceptions of the curriculum, children and subject matter figure prominently. However, in the older conception, the subject matter is the focus of attention and children are seen in the background as "pupils" upon whom

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 457.

the subject matter is to be imposed. In the newer conception, the individual child is the focus of attention and the subject matter is in the background as something that is to be related to the child's ongoing needs, purposes, and abilities. To borrow the terminology of the Gestalt psychologists, in the older conception the subject matter is "the figure" and the pupil is "the ground"; in the newer conception the individual child is "the figure" and the subject matter is "the ground."

It is the relationship of subject matter to children that is the major point of confusion in moving from the older conception to the new, and the problem has not been helped by the widespread use of such phrases as "the child-centered school" and "teach children—not subject matter." Specifically, a shift in focus is needed so that the child emerges as "the figure" against "the ground" of subject matter.

However, this shift cannot come about as the result of a perceptual shift. In a Gestalt experiment, the figure of a white vase against a black background, when stared at for a few minutes, will suddenly appear as two profiles, but it is futile to ask teachers to "stare" at children in the hope that a similar phenomenon will occur. A *process* of reorientation is needed.

To orient means to put oneself in correct position or relation. To reorient is defined as changing one's position or adjustment to the environment.

It must be remembered that teachers in service have already been oriented, have already put themselves in "correct position or relation" to the school situation. For those who need to achieve the shift of perception called for by the newer conception of the curriculum, it is necessary that they "change their position." This is difficult to do for two reasons. First, having already been oriented over a period of years to one perception, it is not easy for them to perceive the relationship differently. Second, the "change in position" that is necessary in order to make the new perception possible is not easy to achieve in the same school situation.

In a sense, the problem would be simplified if teachers in service could be told, "Forget all you ever knew about education; modern education is completely different." Or if they could be sent out of the school situation to deal with children in a setting other than the classroom. This, of course, cannot be done.

REORIENTATION REQUIRES RE-EDUCATION

The reorientation of the traditional teacher can come about only through a slow process of re-education in which the teacher is helped by someone else to achieve new insights into children and their needs and to discover new ways of teaching that will relate the classwork to those needs. In this way, the teacher may, after a period of time, come to accept fully the modern conception of the curriculum and change his teaching behavior in accordance with that conception. But there can be no guarantee of this result.

The term "the traditional teacher" will be used to indicate broadly the person who teaches in accordance with the values and conduct associated with the traditional conception of education. It is realized that individuals vary in their teaching practices and that there is no such person as *the* traditional teacher. In life, teachers range themselves along a scale from traditional to modern.

The traditional teacher cannot be expected to accept in its entirety a wholly new conception of the curriculum on a purely intellectual basis. Even if this could be done, it would be still more unreasonable to expect that on the basis of acceptance of an intellectual conception, the teacher could in one stroke throw off his present habits of teaching and assume a wholly new mode of classroom behavior. Pressing the point still further, it would be complete folly to expect that he could do this without help from someone else, that he could lift himself by his own boot straps. Reorientation does not usually come about that way. It is a process that must be *worked through.*

The person needed to help in this working through is one who will work closely with the teacher. This person will try to help the teacher to achieve new perceptions of children so that he will gain insight into their needs. As each insight is gained, he will support the teacher in his attempts to discover new ways of teaching that will relate the classwork to these needs. As this process continues over a period of time, the teacher may *gradually* come to accept the newer conception of the curriculum and *gradually* develop a new mode of teaching behavior.

A warning should be given here. This is no mechanical process, nor is there any guarantee that the desired end will be achieved. The gaining of insights and the discovery of new teaching behavior cannot be *made* to happen. However, even if they cannot be dictated, they can be fostered and encouraged.

In summary, then, the reorientation of a traditional teacher requires a process of re-education which will help him to work through his older conception of the curriculum and his older mode of teaching to a new conception and a new mode of teaching. To do this, help will be necessary.

The person who should provide this help is the curriculum worker, by which is meant anyone in the educational hierarchy who holds a higher rank than the teacher and who is responsible for improving the curriculum. The curriculum worker could be a supervisor, helping teacher, curriculum coordinator or director, vice principal, principal, assistant superintendent, or superintendent. For variety's sake, the term "the educational leader" or just "the leader" is sometimes used in this study. Occasionally the term "status leader" is used when matters involving differences in rank between teachers and supervisory personnel are being discussed. When referring to the curriculum worker's role in the re-educative process the phrase "the curriculum worker as re-educator" or "the re-educator" is used.

Traditional teaching and modern teaching are not like

entities, nor is the modern teacher the counterpart of the traditional. Traditional teaching is a crystallized methodology, while modern teaching is not nor should it ever become so. The modern teacher, therefore, is not a counterpart of the traditional teacher for he is (or should be, to be called modern) constantly seeking new and more effective ways of teaching. The desirable teacher is the *growing* teacher and the purpose of this writing is to suggest ways in which teachers can be helped to grow whether they are traditional or not. The only qualification to this statement is that because they have accepted a crystallized system of teaching, traditional teachers are usually more difficult to encourage to grow. In short, growing is seen as an end in itself.

RE-EDUCATION OR EDUCATION?

In using the term re-education in connection with curriculum development, the question may immediately be raised: Why re-education? Why not education?" Dewey defines education as

> that reconstruction or reorganization of experience which adds to the meaning of experience, and which increases ability to direct the course of subsequent experience.[3]

In Dewey's view, the reconstruction of experience is a continuous process that goes along with the growth and development of the individual. In this sense all education is re-education, for it involves the reorganization of previous experience.

There is no quarrel here with this point of view. However, in dealing with teachers in service, the curriculum worker is faced with certain specific factors which make the term re-education more descriptive of the process involved.

The first of these factors is that many teachers in service have been conditioned to traditional education in their own schooling. Since the traditional conception and its practice are still widespread in American public schools, it is reason-

[3] John Dewey, *Democracy and Education* (New York, The Macmillan Company, 1916), p. 89. Quoted by permission of the publisher.

able to assume that the majority of present-day teachers received a traditional education. Indeed, many grew up believing, no doubt, that what they were getting was simply education. Probably not until they entered a teacher-education institution did they become aware that any other form of education existed. The significance of this to the curriculum worker is that he has to deal, in most cases, with people who, all through their formative years of childhood and adolescence, were conditioned to the traditional conception of education and its practice. The "reorganization" of that kind of experience is not an easy task to accomplish.

A second factor is that most teachers are trained in traditional practices and values in teacher-education institutions. The reasons for this are several. Teacher-education institutions are set up to train teachers for "the field." However, "the field" being predominantly traditional, they dare not train people in the values and conduct of a way of teaching that is not likely to be encountered. They must articulate their work within reasonable limits with the situations into which their graduates are going to move. They may preach modern education, but their teaching still tends toward the use of traditional methods, such as lectures, large classes, assignments, tests and marks. It is not surprising, therefore, that teacher-graduates are for the most part still traditional in their teaching.

A third factor to be taken into account is that teachers who have been "successful" on the job, that is, are accepted by pupils, staff members, administration, and school community as "good" teachers, are not likely to welcome the prospect of taking on new habits of conduct. Having been "broken in" to teaching, having gone through all the confusion, uncertainty, and insecurity of the probationary period, and having finally achieved acceptance and a feeling of security, "successful" teachers are not likely to be enthusiastic about trying out new behavior which is at variance with their present behavior.

Still another important factor in stimulating changes in teaching behavior is the age factor. As Dewey points out:

> There can be no doubt of the tendency of organic plasticity, of the physiological basis, to lessen with growing years. The instinctively mobile and eagerly varying action of childhood, the love of new stimuli and new developments, too easily passes into a "settling down" which means aversion to change and a resting on past achievements.[4]

This factor of lessening of plasticity, of "settling down," is a reality that must be taken into account in attempting to stimulate changes in behavior.

A final factor of significance is the magnitude of the task. Changing from the traditional approach to the modern in education requires a change in the teacher's whole frame of reference not only to teaching but to life itself. The modern conception is not just a new "method" of teaching—it is a way of looking at the growth of human beings. It involves the teacher's philosophy of life, his social understandings, his psychological beliefs, his skills, attitudes, and knowledges. It is not something that can be "explained"; its acceptance is linked with his growth and development as a human being.

The curriculum worker, then, is faced with the problem of helping to "reorganize the experience" of many teachers who have been conditioned, trained, and "successful" in the use of traditional methods and values. Furthermore, this "reorganization of experience" is required not only toward teaching but toward life itself. And all this is to be done, presumably, at an age when these teachers have "settled down" and have an "aversion to change."

In the light of these factors, it would seem that a conception of *re*-education fits the situation more precisely than does a conception of education that embodies the idea of *continuous* "reorganization of experience." It is granted that the "reorganization of experience" cannot be anything but continuous. However, this seems to imply that the reorganiza-

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 58.

tion of experience needs only to be *maintained.* It fails to suggest the drastic reorganization of experience that is needed and the difficulty of the task.

For these reasons, it would seem that the curriculum worker would be better fitted for his job if he views it more sharply as a problem of re-education.

RE-EDUCATION AND PSYCHOTHERAPY

The term re-education has perhaps been used more commonly in the field of psychotherapy than in any other field. As a result, the term as it is used here may be thought to be identical in meaning. While there are points of similarity, there are also important differences in meaning. An attempt will be made to analyze these differences and similarities.

The meaning of the term re-education as it is used in the field of psychotherapy is explained by Shaffer as follows:

> All of the methods of psychotherapy may be summarized by a single concept—re-education. The various techniques are designed to accomplish the same end, which is to lead the patient to abandon his habits of conduct that are socially undesirable and individually ineffective, and to substitute other methods for fulfilling his motives. Adjustive mechanisms, either adequate or inadequate, are the result of learning processes, and readjustment is therefore necessarily an act of learning.[5]

From this statement the basic assumptions of psychotherapy may be seen: (1) The patient is a person who is not organically ill but has learned habits of conduct that are not only individually ineffective in adjusting to his environment but socially undesirable. (2) In order to become well or "normal," the patient must learn new habits of conduct that are individually effective and socially desirable. (3) The patient must accomplish this himself, but he needs help in doing so.

On the basis of this analysis, two important distinctions

[5] Laurance F. Shaffer, *The Psychology of Adjustment: An Objective Approach to Mental Hygiene* (Boston, Houghton Mifflin Company, 1936), pp. 481–82.

can be made between the meaning of the term re-education as it is used in psychotherapy and as it is used in this study.

1. Traditional teachers are not "patients," "abnormal," or "emotionally ill" as a group. Most of them are both healthy and "normal." Perhaps there are some individuals among them who are "patients," but if so that is a problem for the clinical psychologist or psychiatrist, *not* for the curriculum worker.

2. Even though the habits of *teaching* conduct of the traditional type may be judged by the holders of the modern point of view to be "individually ineffective" in the light of objective measurement, or "socially undesirable" in the light of democratic values, they are not judged so by traditional teachers or the public in general. Usually when a teacher's work is evaluated as ineffective and undesirable, traditional methods themselves are not blamed but, rather, lack of skill or diligence in their use. Or, "the cause" is seen in the use of modern "methods," which are generally held to be not only ineffective but socially undesirable; for it is claimed that they tend to undermine the social order and weaken the moral fiber of the young through "mollycoddling."

While it is true that the traditional teacher differs from the "abnormal" person in these two regards, it is also true that there are similarities between the two.

1. The abnormal person has grown into his maladjustment through a series of learning experiences over a long period of time. Similarly, the teacher has grown into his "traditionality" through a long series of learning experiences. This was noted in the preceding section. The significant point is that in both cases readjustment is also going to take considerable time. Furthermore, it is not going to be accomplished by an act of will or by taking a course, but is going to involve regrowing in a new direction.

2. Another parallel point is that with both the "abnormal" person and the traditional teacher there has been arrest in growth. With the former the cause is a so-called "circular

reaction"; with the latter the cause is the assumption of routine habits.

The "circular reaction" of the "abnormal" person developed in this way: At one time he was faced with a problem of living that he could not master. He tried this and that to solve it but to no avail. Meanwhile his emotional reaction became more intense. Suddenly he hit upon a device that was ineffective in solving his problem but gave him relief from his emotional tension. Each time he was faced with his problem, instead of trying to solve it, he resorted to his tension-reducing device, which might have been drinking, smoking, eating, masturbation, or some such "habit." Say, for example, that the tension-reducing device was drinking. The more problems he faced the more he drank, and the more he drank the less able he was to deal with his problems. The result was a "circular reaction" which brought about an arrest in growth.

In the case of the traditional teacher the arrest in growth is due to the assumption of routine habits. Habits in and of themselves are not "bad" things; instead, as Dewey has pointed out: "Habits give control over the environment, power to utilize it for human purposes." [6] He makes a distinction, though, between *active* habits which "involve thought, invention, and initiative in applying capacities to new aims" and *routine* habits which "mark an arrest in growth." [6] With the latter, there has been a withdrawal of critical intelligence, and they are used without question as to appropriateness or effectiveness.

The traditional conception of teaching is that it is a simple process of imparting subject matter to the young. In order to teach English to John, it is considered necessary to know only English and certain methods of teaching it. A "good teacher," therefore, is one who "knows his subject," "makes it interesting," and "puts it over." Learning to teach is basically a problem of "habituation," that is, becoming accus-

[6] Dewey, *op. cit.*, p. 62.

tomed to the subject matter and to the methods.[7] There is little thought of need for "invention and initiative in applying capacities to new aims."

The possibility of growth in service is diminished by any such conception of teaching as a fixed, routine, cut-and-dried process that the would-be teacher learns how to do. Growing demands the use of critical intelligence and a continuous attempt to discover more and more appropriate and effective ways of acting that will give increasing control over the environment. When a teacher has become habituated to the classroom, that is, when he has assumed routine habits and become accustomed to them, it is no exaggeration to say that there has been an arrest in growth.

In summarizing, both the "abnormal" person and the traditional teacher are the victims of an arrest in growth which, while differently caused, means that both need help to resume growing.

3. A third point of similarity is that both the "abnormal" person and the traditional teacher must resume growing and must regrow in the same situation in which the arrest in growth developed. While it is true that psychologists and psychiatrists use "environmental therapy" (changing the environment temporarily), it is also recognized that the patient's readjustment is not complete until he is able to deal with the environment that brought about his condition. However, the significant aspect of this factor is that because the individual must regrow in the same situation, progress will necessarily be slow and will require patience and sympathetic understanding beyond limits usually considered necessary or even warranted.

4. A fourth, and perhaps most important, similarity is that with both the "abnormal" person and the traditional teacher stimulating a resumption in growing must be approached by indirection rather than by direct attack upon the problem.

One of the main reasons for using the term re-education in

[7] *Ibid.*, pp. 55–56.

this study is the fact that coming as it does from psychotherapy it carries with it the connotation of an indirect approach to a problem of learning. This point cannot be emphasized too strongly. *People change themselves.* Education has long been identified with instruction, and educators have been trained in the directive skills of telling, analyzing, explaining, and persuading; therefore it is difficult to convey the conception of an indirect approach. Furthermore, educational administrators whose conception of school administration has been drawn from a type of business management which is becoming outmoded are likewise prone to think in terms of solving problems by direct attack. Such a forthright managerial approach may be effective with space, material, and equipment but frequently fails in dealing with human beings. The traditional teacher may be helped, stimulated, encouraged, guided, and supported; certain provisions may be made to encourage growth, such as released time, consultant service, clerical help, and reference materials; but in the end it is the teacher himself who will decide whether he is going to grow and, if so, how. Direct methods may bring about a temporary change in behavior—a conforming; but if the teacher has not accepted the changes there will be no permanent or effective change. In the long run the indirect way is the more practical, efficient, and economical, for the results gained are permanent.

To summarize this section: There are differences and similarities in the meaning of the term re-education as it is used here and as it is used in psychotherapy. The differences are that (1) the traditional teacher is neither ill nor abnormal, and (2) there is little social support for the view that his habits of teaching are individually ineffective and socially undesirable. The similarities are that both the "abnormal" person and the traditional teacher (1) grew into their present state over a long period of time; (2) with both there has been an "arrest in growth"; (3) both must resume growing and must regrow in the original situation; and (4) helping them

to resume growing and to regrow in the original situation must be approached by indirection.

RE-EDUCATION AND SOCIAL CHANGE

The meaning of the term re-education in connection with curriculum development would be incomplete if it did not include the factor of social change. An attempt will be made, therefore, to indicate the specific meaning of the term re-education as it is related to this factor of social change.

The curriculum worker who would change the curriculum in an individual school is struck immediately by the number of barriers that stem from outside the school itself—state department requirements, legal requirements, college requirements, budgetary control, and the like, all seeming to have been contrived to prevent change. Furthermore, responsibility has frequently been fixed in such a way that the individual who would deviate can be singled out and "held responsible"—historically an effective way of preventing social change from getting started. However, while the existence of these factors highlights the seriousness of the task, the conclusion should not be drawn that change is impossible or that the curriculum worker will have to wait until society changes before he can begin his attempt to change the curriculum in his school. The school is a *social* institution and social institutions change, but slowly.

The use of the term re-education to indicate an approach to curriculum development takes into account this factor of social change. Society is composed of individuals, and if one individual changes his social behavior society has changed by that much. Re-education is implied in the attempt of one individual to bring about a change in the social behavior of another. Specifically, it means the attempt of the curriculum worker to bring about a change in the teaching behavior of individual teachers. It does not refer to a broad-front approach, such as a system-wide, county-wide, or state-wide pro-

gram of curriculum development, although it may sow the seeds for such an approach. It is an attempt to give direction to the individual who is motivated to attempt change but is overwhelmed by the size of the task and asks despairingly, "What can *I* do?" In brief, re-education with regard to social change refers to the attempt to bring about a change in society by bringing about a reorganization of the socially conditioned values and conduct of individuals.

The curriculum worker has no sanction from society either to change people or to change society. If he cannot impose his own views, upon what basis can he operate? Upon what foundations does he base his work?

SOURCES OF BASIC DATA FOR CURRICULUM DEVELOPMENT

The curriculum worker cannot presume to change either individuals or society in accordance with his own views, no matter how "right" he may think himself to be. He must have sources of data which he can suggest for the consideration of those with whom he is working. In the past, the curriculum has been shaped by tradition, the available materials of instruction, the training of the teachers, the pressure of organized groups, and similar influences. If a curriculum is to be developed which will be based on sounder foundations than these influences, then other sources of data have to be located. A clue to these sources may be found by examining the function of the school.

It may be broadly stated that the function of the school is to integrate the young into society. If this view is accepted, then it follows that to develop a sound curriculum it is necessary to secure definitive answers to such questions as these: What is the nature of the society? What is the nature of the young? What is the nature of the process by which the young become integrated into society? What is the role of the school in this process?

It can be said immediately that there are no final answers

to these questions. There are, however, sources which will shed light on them. Sociology and anthropology will yield clues to the nature of the society; child development has data on the nature of the young. Social psychology, mental hygiene, and psychology of learning all provide insights into the nature of the process of integration, while educational philosophy and the history of education can clarify the role of the school. To these sources the curriculum worker can direct the attention of his co-workers in developing the curriculum.

In the very act of guiding teachers to these sources, the curriculum worker should be aware that he is embarking on a program that may lead not only to social change but also to personality change on the part of the teachers and himself. The initiation of a program of curriculum development carries with it responsibility not only to society but to the individuals concerned.

HOW RE-EDUCATION AFFECTS THE INDIVIDUAL

In the following paragraphs an attempt will be made to analyze in somewhat greater detail certain changes that an individual undergoes during the process of re-education.

Lewin and Grabbe state that the process of re-education affects the individual in three ways:

1. It changes his cognitive structure. The way he sees the physical and social worlds, including all his facts, concepts, beliefs, and expectations.
2. It affects his motoric action. [This involves] the degree of the individual's control over his physical and social movements.
3. It modifies his valences and values. These embrace both his attractions and aversions to groups and group standards, his feeling in regard to status differences, and his reactions to sources of approval or disapproval.[8]

[8] Kurt Lewin and Paul Grabbe, "Conduct, Knowledge, and Acceptance of New Values," *The Journal of Social Issues*, I (August, 1945), p. 56.

To make this theoretical analysis concrete, suppose we consider the hypothetical case of a successful teacher.

This teacher is head of his department and has had numerous articles published in professional journals. He is respected by his colleagues, his students, and the people of the community. He is upheld as a man who is "full of his subject" and one who gives lectures to his classes which are models of clarity and colorful expression. He "puts it across." He has an excellent platform manner, and it is said that he holds his listeners "in the palm of his hand."

Trained in the traditional approach, this man puts great weight on the need for scholarship in teaching and is somewhat critical of teachers colleges which, he feels, emphasize "teaching methods" rather than "thorough knowledge." Nearing middle age, he has a secret desire to teach at some well-known university where he can mingle with scholars and deal with more "mature" students.

If this man were to change to the modern approach in his teaching, what would it mean for him? What changes would be involved? What would happen to him?

If he were to accept the modern approach to education his cognitive structure or organization of facts, concepts, beliefs, and expectations would have to be modified. For example, it might be a "fact" that James is a poor student, but now he would have to find out why James is so inferior. He would have to find the causes for this condition and make necessary adjustments in his teaching. When he turned over the "reins" to a "good" class and the group members began to operate ineptly and immaturely on their own initiative, he would have to accept this as their real level of ability although his expectancy based on their class recitations and written work might have been that they were more mature and skillful. Now he finds them operating at what seems to him an almost infantile level, for they have never had the opportunity before of operating on their own without being told precisely what to do. And so while it might be true that James is a "poor"

student and that the class is a "good" one, this teacher finds the "facts" altered. As he continues with the modern conception he finds himself perceiving new "facts," relinquishing some of the old, finding new meanings in others, and accepting still others that he had hitherto denied. In short, in accepting the modern conception of education, his cognitive structure must be reorganized.

Second, if he were to accept the modern approach to education, his "motoric action" or characteristic physical movements would have to change. He would have to *come off* the platform and *sit down* with his students in group session. He would have to learn to hold his tongue and to develop techniques aimed to help his students to express themselves. He would have to learn to control his facial expression so that he would not beam when a pupil agreed with his ideas or scowl when someone made statements that disagreed. He would have to learn new skills of guiding the group discussion so that it did not bog down into mere talk or turn into an intellectual wrangle, but developed form, structure, and clarity—an entirely different task from writing an article or giving a lecture. In the over-all, he would have to change from the eloquent purveyor of subject matter who is the focus of the class' attention to the quiet, unobtrusive leader who skillfully guides the group in focusing on its problems and their solution. In meeting these requirements, many changes in characteristic physical movements are involved.

Third, if this teacher were to accept the modern conception of education, his system of values would have to undergo a change. He would have to recognize that it is not what he knows but what his students know that is important; that it is a teacher's job to build power within his students. He would learn that his scholarship and background are important to the extent that through them he can help his students to perceive relationships and to solve problems. He might have to set aside his dream of "college teaching" and find satisfaction (value) in helping the students he has to become

competent American citizens. He would have to see value in the process of learning, even though the product might not always be what he hoped for. In sum, if this teacher accepted the modern conception of education, his system of values would have to be considerably modified.

And so, in changing from a traditional to a modern approach to education, the individual teacher would have to go through rather profound changes in behavior, changes which would affect his total personality. For the individual, this reorganization would mean a long period of uncertainty and confusion.

There is no step-by-step or item-by-item approach to the re-educative process. Reporting on the five-year study of in-service education made by the Commission on Teacher Education, Prall and Cushman state:

> No one of the schools in the study demonstrated the practicability of a direct and comprehensive approach to in-service education—an approach that begins with an analysis of the demands made upon the professional personnel by a going school program and proceeds systematically to provide experiences to prepare that personnel to meet such demands effectively.[9]

Any such logical approach might have the effect of driving the individual into a corner, where he would fight back, using any means at his disposal, whether logical or not, to hold off his attacker and retain his beliefs. However, while there is no scientifically sound and integrated approach to re-education, there are clues which the re-educator can use as guides to action.

FACTORS INFLUENCING COGNITION AND PERCEPTION

What an individual "knows" is combined or integrated or organized in some way into meaningful forms called *cognitive structures.* Perceptions are determined in part by

[9] Charles E. Prall and C. Leslie Cushman, *Teacher Education in Service* (Washington, D.C., American Council on Education, 1945), p. 441.

these structures, but when a perception not "fitting into" the present structure is experienced, the structure may be reorganized.[10] In order to facilitate behavioral change it is necessary to surround the individual with an environment that will stimulate new perceptions to the end that a reorganization of the cognitive structure may take place.

Certain factors related to cognition and perception are of importance to the curriculum worker as re-educator. The following have been drawn from the writing of psychologists.[11]

1. *People act on what they perceive.* A teacher may perceive a child as a "bad boy" one day and treat him accordingly, but a visit to the boy's home may so change his perception that his treatment of the child will be radically changed.

2. *People tend to perceive what they have learned to perceive.* Parents and teachers have been taught to perceive pupils sitting quietly in orderly rows as "good discipline." Consequently, seeing children scattered about the room working in groups or moving about on jobs without asking the teacher's permission is seen as "poor discipline."

3. *People tend to perceive what they want to perceive.* Sherif gives this description of an experiment as an example:

> Zillig, a German school teacher, first ascertained who among the pupils were considered favorites, and who were most disliked by their classmates. She deliberately instructed the former to do the "wrong thing." In a short gymnastic period, she asked the pupils to lift their right hands, but, as instructed in advance, the favorite pupils did the wrong thing. However, not they, but the disliked ones were reported by the other pupils to have made the wrong movement.[12]

[10] David Krech and Richard S. Crutchfield, *Theory and Problems of Social Psychology* (New York, McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1948), Chap. III.

[11] Nos. 1, 5, and 6 are based on Earl C. Kelley, *Education for What Is Real* (New York, Harper and Brothers, 1947), pp. 37–40, 28–29, 43–44.

Nos. 3 and 4 are based on Muzafer Sherif, *Psychology of Social Norms* (New York, Harper and Brothers, 1936), pp. 121–22, 104–05.

Nos. 2, 7, 8, and 9 are based on Kurt Lewin and Paul Grabbe, "Conduct, Knowledge, and Acceptance of New Values," *The Journal of Social Issues*, I (August, 1945), pp. 53–64.

[12] Described in Muzafer Sherif, *Psychology of Social Norms* (New York, Harper and Brothers, 1936), pp. 121–22.

4. *People tend to perceive what the group perceives.* Sherif in his classic experiment found that when individuals are faced with an ambiguous situation they establish their own individual ranges and norms (interpretations) of what they see. However, when they are placed together in a group, these ranges and norms tend to converge into a group norm. Furthermore, "when a member of the group faces the same situation subsequently *alone,* he perceives the situation in terms of the range and norm that he brings from the group situation." [13]

5. *People tend to see things at certain "distances."* A major aim of curriculum development is to help the staff "back up" and "look at" the total program of the school so that they can "see" the relationship of their teaching and subject field to the over-all objectives of the school. Since teachers are usually assigned to one room, their perception of the total functioning of the school is necessarily limited. In order for them to achieve the proper perspective, "distance" must somehow be placed between them and the program. Similarly, administrators who tend to have an adequate perception of the over-all program frequently are "too far" from the classroom. Another major aim of curriculum development might be to help the supervisory staff to "move in" and "look at" classroom teaching so that they can "see" the relationship of *their* work to the teaching of boys and girls in the classroom.

6. *People like to see things clearly before they act.* It is natural to move more cautiously in a dark room than in one that is well lighted. Similarly, teachers want to see clearly how they would behave if they were to adopt the modern approach in teaching. The question is frequently asked, "Yes, but how would I start the first day in school? Suppose I have a class of thirty kids, what would I do first? How would I go about it?" Without a picture in their minds, they may not "see their way clear to do it."

[13] *Ibid.,* p. 105.

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7. *"Extensive first-hand experience does not automatically create correct concepts."* Teachers have observed many children without arriving at correct concepts of child behavior and development. This is probably due to the fact that people are taught much of what they are to see *before* they are able to observe things directly for themselves.

8. *"The possession of correct knowledge does not suffice to rectify false perceptions."* A pupil may still be a "bad boy" to a teacher, even though others tell him that he is a "good boy."

9. *"Changes in sentiments do not necessarily follow changes in the cognitive structure."* Teachers frequently pay lip service to modern ideas of education but continue to follow old practices. If this inconsistency is pointed out to them, they will defend the practices on the grounds that the classes are too large, or the administration is against modern ideas, or the community "won't stand for" them. These, of course, are real obstacles and must be taken into consideration; on the other hand, none of them completely block action if the teacher really wants to act.

Knowing that people act on perception, the curriculum worker as re-educator will attempt to provide for a fresh perception of a situation. He will, however, expect that the individual will see what he has been taught to see. He also knows that the individual will see what he wants to see and fail to see what he does not want to see. However, he also knows that if the *group* changes its perception the individual will tend to "go along with" the new interpretation. He will therefore work to help the group develop new perceptions, but at the same time accept its perceptions along the way. In doing this he will try to provide for "distance" through such means as time off during the school day to "look at" the school's problems and free and undirected interclass and interschool visitation and trips to conferences. He realizes that people want to be sure before they act, and he respects that feeling and does not force action. He knows that first-hand experiences

do not automatically create correct concepts; nevertheless he encourages them and introduces alternative interpretations of the experiences. He knows that correct knowledge does not suffice to rectify false perceptions, but he makes it available. Finally, he knows that people will "talk one way and act another," and while he realizes that this tendency is normal he is not content with verbal acceptance but works for behavioral acceptance as well.

Basically, the curriculum worker as re-educator respects the perceptions of the individual or group and does not try to force his "views" on them. However, he works to set up an environment which tends to foster new perceptions.

FACTORS INFLUENCING MOTORIC ACTION

In moving from the traditional to the modern conception of education, an individual may reach a point where he has lost faith in his present approach to teaching but knows no other approach to use. He may, for example, accept tentatively the value of teacher-pupil planning but at the same time not know how to go about it. His new perception, therefore, has only served to make his present habits of conduct seem inappropriate and ineffective without helping him to replace them with new habits. How is he going to find a new repertoire of characteristic physical movements—a new system of motoric action?

The self-discovery of more appropriate and effective behavior would, of course, be the most desirable solution to the problem. However, this would involve a long-drawn-out process of trying this and that and the possibility of the teacher giving up in the face of the task. The invention of a whole new set of teaching responses to the same environment would be a stupendous task—one few individuals have experienced, for most behavior is the result of learning by human example.[14]

[14] Richard T. LaPiere and Paul R. Farnsworth, *Social Psychology* (New York, McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1936), pp. 123–25.

From the standpoint of re-education, the way must always remain open for the self-discovery of behavior by the teacher. However, if the teacher wants help, he may want a "model" to *copy*. This term is used advisedly and not synonymously with imitation. Unfortunately, the word "copying" has a "bad" connotation in the field of education. Copying homework or a test is considered a dishonest act, and teachers condemn it as an act as morally bad as stealing.

The term *copying* as it is used here means a conscious attempt at matching another person's behavior. It is different from unconscious imitation, that is, merely responding in the same way as someone else to the same situation. The re-educator may therefore provide "models" for the learner to copy. However, there are certain principles that govern copying if the attempt is to be successful. The following principles (in italic) have been set forth by Miller and Dollard.[15]

1. *"Copying, like all learning, takes place under pressure of drive."* Criticizing a teacher for poor methods of teaching and then directing him to observe Miss So-and-So teach is not conducive to copying. The teacher must *want* to learn more effective behavior. If, on the other hand, the drive to copy is not there, the model behavior may be presented to the teacher for analysis, and it may be left to him to copy or not. In any event, pressure to force copying will not accomplish the result; the teacher must want to learn a new way of behaving.

2. *"The presence of relevant sub-responses is a great convenience in diffusion."* Teaching a new card game to one who has played cards is easier than teaching a novice. Similarly, there will be aspects of the teacher's teaching behavior which are in line with the new conception of education. For example, if more attention to individual differences among students seems indicated, the curriculum worker may point

[15] Neal Miller and John Dollard, *Social Learning and Imitation* (New Haven, Yale University Press, 1941), p. 273.

to situations where the teacher has dealt successfully with his students on an individual basis. Focusing attention upon the effective rather than the ineffective aspects of a teacher's behavior provides reinforcement for the new orientation.

3. *"Conditions of social contact offer the best opportunity for rapid copying."* One drawback to the diffusion of new and effective teaching behavior is the social isolation of the teacher. A teacher may work next door to another teacher for years and have little idea how that teacher behaves in class. Taking courses at teacher-education institutions seldom provides behavorial clues, for many classes are conducted by the lecture or other mass methods. The curriculum worker should therefore provide opportunities for teachers to witness other teachers attacking similar teaching problems but using different and (it is to be hoped) more effective techniques in solving them.

4. *"The prestige of the model is the crucial matter in mobilizing the copying drive and setting in motion the attempt to match responses."* It must be hastily added that prestige is an individual rather than a social factor. The person who has prestige with the *individual* is the model who will be copied by that individual. If the curriculum worker brings into the school someone who has social prestige, for example a college professor whose views are similar to his own, the act will be viewed with suspicion as a subtle form of indoctrination via a surrogate. *"Models" are selected by the copiers.* The curriculum worker may suggest models for the teacher to see, but he must leave it to the teacher to decide which of these he will copy.

5. *"Copying is rarely exact; it is conditioned by the culture of the individual and the environment."* An extreme example of distorted copying is the principal who, after seeing a demonstration of modern teaching in a laboratory school, called his staff together and announced that thereafter the school was "going progressive"—the pupils could do anything they wanted, there would be no discipline, and they could study

what they liked. Apparently, the principal failed to see so many of the restrictions that he was accustomed to seeing that he came away from the demonstration with a completely erroneous impression of modern teaching. The curriculum worker is not discouraged when the copied behavior does not duplicate the original. A step away from the old behavior is a substantial gain.

6. *"Copying can become an acquired drive provided copying behavior has been rewarded."* The teacher should be supported in trying out new behavior even though it may not be very effective. Attempting new behavior should be encouraged, otherwise no progress or growth will take place. Failure to support copying behavior may cause the individual to cling to his present behavior. The re-educator now has at his disposal a new technique, called variously psychodrama, sociodrama, spontaneity training, and role-practice,[16] which is designed for the analysis of behavior and the trying out of new behavior in an *irreal* situation, that is, a situation neither so unreal as to be invalid nor so real that it may lead to punishment or disapproval.[17] Wise use of this technique could bring about many desirable changes in behavior. Other vicarious devices for learning by example are films, plays, and books.

There are two dangers to avoid in copying. One is blind imitation, that is, behaving like the model without adequate understanding of why the model's behavior is effective. The new behavior should always be critically scrutinized for the reasons for its effectiveness. The other danger is closing the door on the invention or discovery of new behavior. The way must always be left open for individual creation of new behavior. Copying should be resorted to only when the individual wants to behave in a new manner but does not know how, or when a stimulus is needed to try out new behavior.

[16] J. L. Moreno, *Psychodrama* (New York, Beacon House, 1946), pp. 177–211, 350–66, 130–34, 153–76.

[17] For a fuller description of this technique see Appendix, pp. 122–129.

FACTORS INFLUENCING VALUE CHANGE

Re-education has fully taken place only when a new set of values has been developed. The individual not only "knows" and "does" but believes in what he "knows" and "does." This change of values may be called a change in the culture of the individual in that he has discarded the former social norms which he had internalized and has accepted for himself new social norms. The process of re-education cannot stop with correct knowing nor with correct doing. It is completed only "when a new system of values dominates the individual's perception." [18]

Considering the crucial role that value change plays in the re-educative process, it might be well to examine some of the characteristics of values in order to clarify the task to be faced.

A number of these characteristics of values have been identified. Three of them will be discussed here.

1. *Many values are unconscious.* The values of a culture are inculcated through a process of "cultural conditioning." From the response of the people around him, an infant learns the standards of behavior expected of him. If he behaves one way, he learns that this behavior is "good" and he is rewarded. If he behaves another way, he finds that that behavior is "bad" and he is punished. As he grows into the culture he thus learns a whole series of behavioral norms in terms of "good" and "bad." These value judgments of behavior are seldom explained to the child. It is taken for granted that they are "right" or "human." It is doubtful if the parents or teachers themselves could give a rational justification for them even if the child could understand. Cultural values are thus passed along from one generation to another in terms of the goodness or badness of behavior, while the criteria by which the goodness or badness is evaluated are seldom, if ever, examined.

These conditioned value judgments then become the basis

[18] Lewin and Grabbe, *op. cit.*, p. 64.

for later judgments of what is good or bad, right or wrong. Decisions are made in terms of *feeling* rather than as the result of an examination of the data. Dewey says on this point:

> We rarely recognize the extent to which our conscious estimates of what is worth while and what is not are due to standards of which we are not conscious at all. But in general it may be said that the things which we take for granted without inquiry or reflection are just the things which determine our conscious thinking and decide our conclusions.[19]

For this reason, proposals for or attempts at new ways of behaving are responded to in terms of old unconscious values, and the response is usually negative. This is illustrated by one type of reaction to modern education. When it has been proposed that education should be an enjoyable experience, those who have been conditioned to the puritan assumption that "life is real, life is earnest" are morally shocked. When it has been suggested that teaching is easier (meaning that there is less of an emotional tug-of-war between teacher and pupil) when students participate in planning experiences, teachers have been heard to reply, "I don't know why, but I just wouldn't feel right about it. My conscience would bother me if I taught that way."

These internalized values provide a frame of reference for making judgment. For example, if a questionnaire given to a group of parents asked, first, "Are you in favor of the best education possible for your child?" the answer would probably be 98 per cent yes. However, if the next question was, "Would you support a rise in taxes to make this education possible?" the affirmative vote would probably drop to about 55 per cent. On the surface this may appear contradictory, but to the individual it is not. In the first question, the frame of reference is education, and in the second, it is taxes. Americans generally are for more education and lower taxes. *If the judgment is to be changed, the frame of reference has to be*

[19] John Dewey, *Democracy and Education* (New York, The Macmillan Company, 1916), p. 22. Quoted by permission of the publisher.

changed. The fact that many values are unconscious and operate within a frame of reference poses a problem for the curriculum worker. How shall they be brought to conscious awareness and dealt with so that new values can be developed? It is here that techniques drawn from the field of psychotherapy would seem to be helpful in aiding the individual to become aware of his values.

2. *Values are "ego-involved."* Cultural values are frequently internalized by the individual as personal or individual values, so that when a value is attacked the individual feels that he is attacked. Cantril gives a clear picture of the process by which social values become incorporated as personal values.

> All evidence would indicate that the child at birth has no notion that he is a separate individual . . . But gradually, as he matures, he learns that *he* is something separate and distinct. . . .
>
> . . . By manipulating various parts of his body and other objects around him, relating visual to kinaesthetic cues the child learns what is the physical *me* as to the physical *not me.* Later he finds out that *he* can be a cause of events or action; with a howl he can make his mother run to comfort him, with a slight push he can knock over a tower of blocks. He finds that he is always referred to by a certain sound, "Johnny." *He* has a name. He sees that *his* physical self is separated from the outside environment by clothes. His developing memory enables him to recall that certain experiences are familiar to *him.*
>
> Soon the ego or me becomes extended far beyond the simple confines of the physical self. The child is told that certain objects or that a certain room belongs to *him.* As he adjusts himself to his expanding world, he is constantly instructed that some things are good or right to do, to say, to believe, while other things are bad and wrong. He learns that he is an American, a white man, a Methodist, a Democrat, a midwesterner. And consciously or unconsciously he learns that these affiliations are "good." . . . His ego, therefore, becomes enormously extended.[20]

One psychological consequence of this identification of self with the social world is that a person depends upon external social

[20] Hadley Cantril, *The Psychology of Social Movements* (New York, John Wiley and Sons, 1941), pp. 35–36. Quoted by permission of the publisher.

circumstances for his personal stability. If the social context with which he identifies himself is altered, then a violent disturbance of the ego occurs.[21]

This involvement of the ego with social norms has an important aspect which the re-educator needs to know and utilize. *What is to be learned depends upon the ego involvement of the individual.*[22] A number of experiments have shown that people tend to forget material that they are opposed to but remember material that they favor. Levine and Murphy, for example, found that both learning and forgetting of material favorable to or against the Soviet Union are affected by one's attitude toward Communism.[23] It should be remembered, then, by the curriculum worker that the learning of material favorable to or against modern education will be affected by the teacher's attitude toward education. If he is a traditional teacher he will remember the things that support his own point of view and forget the things that fail to support or are opposed to it.

3. *Values are protected by the techniques of self-deception.* The individual protects his ego-involved values not only by failing to learn anything that tends to undermine them, but by fighting back if they are attacked. Probably the two most common means of fighting back are *rationalization* and *projection.*

Rationalization may be defined as the giving of "good" rather than real reasons for behavior.[24] Teachers may defend traditional methods because they "believe that children ought to know a few facts," although there is no indication that children can't learn facts under the modern approach. Striking

[21] *Ibid.*, p. 38.

[22] Muzafer Sherif and Hadley Cantril, *The Psychology of Ego-Involvements, Social Attitudes and Identifications* (New York, John Wiley and Sons, 1947), p. 130.

[23] J. M. Levine and Gardner Murphy, "The Learning and Forgetting of Controversial Material," *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology*, 38 (October, 1943), pp. 507–17.

[24] Gordon W. Allport, *Personality: A Psychological Interpretation* (New York, Henry Holt and Company, 1937), pp. 172–73.

a child in anger may be rationalized as "teaching respect for law and order" rather than seen as the teacher's response to his own frustration in dealing with the child. Rationalization may range from a simple act to a more or less complex theory of education.

Projection is the ascription to others of motives that an individual disguises in his own behavior. For example, modern teachers may be accused of "letting children do as they please," which might be a secret wish of the hard-working traditional teacher who feels strongly the responsibility of "covering the subject matter" in spite of the resistance of the children.

Rationalization and projection on the part of staff members are warning signals to the re-educator. Both indicate an attempt to bolster the ego. If the curriculum worker presses further, open hostility may flare up against him.

To summarize, social values are frequently internalized as individual values, so that when a value is attacked the person feels that *he* has been attacked. In other words, his ego has become involved with the value. It is important that ego-involved values be located as a starting place to work in curriculum development, for people tend to learn that which supports their values. In dealing with ego-involved values care should be taken that there is a minimum of ego threat, for rationalization and projection may be brought forth in self-defense, which is "human" but a block to learning.

Probably the most difficult job of the curriculum worker is that of bringing about a change in the ego-involved values of a teacher without hurting his ego.

REAL VALUES AND IDEAL VALUES

Up to this point, *real* values, that is, those values upon which actual behavior is based, have been considered. However, there is another class of values, which might be called *ideal* values. These are consciously held and verbalized. Linton points out that "when such ideal patterns become

thoroughly verbalized and crystallized, they tend to lose some measure of their influence. They acquire an independent existence and instead of representing the proper response to a particular *situation* become the proper response to a particular question." [25]

Democratic values are an example of these verbalized ideals in the American culture. Schools have contributed to their "independent existence" by making them literally the proper response to a question rather than the proper response to a situation. Students have had to recite from memory some of the documents of democracy and answer test questions about them, but little attention has been given to applying these values to the life of the school—in brief, living democratically. In some cases where attempts have been made to apply democratic values directly to school life, it has been found that one tenet of democracy has been selected and the program built upon it, resulting in a serious distortion in the total way of life that democracy upholds.[26]

However, the fact that these values exist in a verbalized, conscious form provides a frame of reference against which behavior may be checked. They are a working tool for possible improvement; at the very least, they furnish a brake for too wide a divergence in behavior.

A word of warning should be added. The curriculum worker would be wise not to use democratic values as a moral weapon to shame or humble teachers. Asking questions such as "Do you believe in democracy?" tends to embarrass teachers; it is practically equivalent to asking them if they believe in God. Even if one did have serious doubts about the matter, he knows he could not say so in front of others. They therefore prefer to consider it a "personal matter" and are resentful of the person who asks the question. The point is

[25] Ralph Linton, *The Cultural Background of Personality* (New York, Appleton-Century-Crofts, Inc., 1945), p. 53. Italics added.

[26] Educational Policies Commission, *Learning the Ways of Democracy: A Case Book of Civic Education* (Washington, D.C., The Commission, 1940), Chap. I.

that they become no more democratic and progress is no further advanced until their resentment cools.

THE VALUES OF TEACHERS

The teacher as a member of society will have been conditioned not only to the real and ideal values considered above but to class values and role, or occupational, values.

Class values. Most teachers come from the middle socio-economic group in American society and as a consequence have been conditioned to the values of that class. The majority of the pupils in the elementary schools are from the lower socio-economic group.[27] The result of this circumstance is an inevitable clash in values. According to Davis:

> Whereas the middle-class child learns a socially adaptive fear of receiving poor grades in school, of being aggressive toward the teacher, of fighting, of cursing, and of having early sex relations, the slum child learns to fear quite different social acts. His gang teaches him to fear being taken in by the teacher, of being a softie with her. To study homework seriously is literally a disgrace. Instead of boasting of good marks in school, one conceals them, if he ever receives any. The lower class individual fears *not* to be thought a street fighter; it is a suspicious and dangerous social trait. He fears *not to curse.* If he cannot claim early sex relations, his virility is seriously questioned.[28]

Teachers as a group are not aware that many of their teaching difficulties arise from trying to get lower-class children to conform to middle-class values. Having been conditioned to their values, they tend to think of the things they uphold as "right," "just common sense," or "only human." Being unaware of the process by which they internalized their values, they are not conscious of them as values at all; still less do they recognize them as *class*-values.

The existence of this situation poses a real problem for the

[27] See Allison Davis, "Socio-Economic Influences on Learning," *The Phi Delta Kappan,* 32 (January, 1951), pp. 253–56.

[28] Allison Davis, *Social-Class Influences upon Learning* (Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1948), p. 30.

curriculum worker. The public schools are for all the children, not just those of the middle class; and it is expected that teachers will deal with all the children fairly and without bias. Furthermore, as trained teachers, it is assumed that they will have the professional competence necessary to teach all children regardless of class background, just as a physician is supposed to be able to treat the sick regardless of difference in status. Yet if this condition is actually to come about, the class bias of teachers, if any, must be overcome, an understanding of lower-class culture developed, and action research begun to develop the competence needed to teach all the children—a large order.

However, even this might be accomplished with relative ease if it were not for a barrier existing in the form of a stereotype that there are no classes in America. Americans may accept the existence of classes informally and "among themselves," but they resist any official or social recognition of the existence of a class structure. Perhaps this problem can be best approached by yielding the floor to the anthropologists and sociologists, who may be able to persuade our people that there are classes; that no great society functions or can function without them; that the task of the American people is to see to it that those with ability and initiative to do so can move from one class to another.

Meanwhile, the curriculum worker is faced with an actual situation with which he must deal. Perhaps he would be better advised to avoid introducing interpretations of social class differences into discussions of teaching problems. But whatever he chooses to do, the fact remains that teachers have been conditioned to class values, a factor to be taken into account in attempts to develop the curriculum.

Role values. The teaching role has developed over a long period of time. Historically, the teacher has been expected to teach by "precept and example." A model for the young, the teacher has been expected to lead a personal life as free from blame as that of a clergyman. His dress, "habits," and morals

have been expected to be above reproach and his participation in community affairs limited to a narrow range of approved activities. In the classroom, the teacher has been expected to cover the subject matter diligently and thoroughly, to stress the virtues of truth, justice, morality, and temperance, and to be a rigorous taskmaster who demanded that students apply themselves to their "work" with equal industriousness and thoroughness. As an employee, the teacher has been expected to do his job "satisfactorily," and if he did not like the way he was supervised by his superior he could quit.[29]

The teaching role that society has been building up over many years has thus been based mainly on such values as morality, rigorous self-discipline, diligence, thoroughness, and obedience. Young people wishing to enter the profession either had to be conditioned to those values or had to become conditioned to them in order to fit the role suitably. Some undoubtedly gravitated into the profession because they fitted the role "naturally"; others became conditioned to the values after a struggle; still others left the field both literally and psychologically. A few "liberals" no doubt, by making strategic compromises that averted a final dismissal, were able to remain even though they were a constant source of annoyance to the administration.

While the traditional conception of the teacher's role is changing, the modern conception of the role has not yet received wide acceptance. The curriculum worker can therefore expect that he will have problems in helping teachers to accept it. Lightening of the heavy emphasis on morals is apt to be viewed by traditional teachers with uneasiness and suspicion. While they may secretly welcome the lifting of taboos, they may be distrustful of "just how far they should go" and critical of younger teachers who do not have to restrict themselves as they did upon entering the profession. They are

[29] Willard S. Elsbree, *The American Teacher: Evolution of a Profession in a Democracy* (New York, American Book Company, 1939), pp. 543–44.

also likely to perceive the shift within the classroom from memorization and drill to pupil activity, from homework to pupil research and production, from teacher-imposed discipline to pupil self-direction and control, either as a "wishy-washy" approach to education, or a slick, modern attempt to evade "good old-fashioned hard work," or a dangerous attempt to undermine society by misleading the young regarding the values of diligence and discipline. As "good" employees who have done their work satisfactorily for years, they are apt to be resentful of curriculum meetings or other attempts to involve them in policy-making either as "a waste of time" or a way to "get more work out of them." There are a number of contributing factors to this reaction.

In the first place, the traditional teacher believes that since what is to be taught and how it shall be taught is settled, the only thing that can be questioned is the ability of the individual to teach. Meetings, therefore, called for the purpose of discussing curriculum problems are likely to be resented because the implication is that he is not a good employee, that the administration is either not satisfied with the "work" he is now doing or else wishes to add to it. Preferring to think of himself as a good teacher, he is likely to view the meeting as "entirely unnecessary," or, if he thinks it means more work for him, as a threat.

A second contributing factor is that the traditional teacher has little feeling of responsibility for the over-all program of the school. In the past over-all problems have been handled by the administration and the teacher has been held responsible only for his work as an individual. Having achieved success as an individual he is likely to perceive the attempt to link him to the group as a threat to his hard-won "tight little isle" of freedom which he has no intention of giving up. Or having achieved success the hard way, he doesn't see how the administration can be so naive as to think he is going to give away his secrets of success. Besides, who will get the credit? Why should he kill himself with work and give away

his best ideas so the curriculum worker can "make a big name for himself"? He may interpret efforts to involve him in policy-making as "buck-passing"—an attempt on the part of the administration to get the teachers to make decisions which the administration should rightly make for itself; or he may see it as a move to "kid" the teachers into thinking that they are now going to be allowed to make decisions while actually the decisions will be made by the administration.

A third contributing factor is a lack of understanding of the values of group thinking and group discussion. The traditional teacher is very likely to view curriculum meetings and the like as a "lot of talk that gets nowhere." He tends to believe that for every problem there exists an answer. Discussion that does not arrive at an answer is therefore a waste of time. He fails to see that before a problem can be solved it must be defined and that the quickest way to define a problem is to bring together all those involved so that all aspects of it may be seen. A corollary to this is that a problem involving a group can only be solved by the group. It cannot be solved for them by others.

To summarize, traditional teachers have been conditioned to the values upon which the teaching role has been based historically, such as diligence, thoroughness, and obedience. The curriculum worker can expect that he will encounter obstacles in trying to win acceptance of the modern conception of the teaching role, for traditional teachers are likely to be uneasy about the lifting of the heavy emphasis on morals, suspicious of the shift from teacher domination to pupil participation in the classroom, and resistant to attempts to build up a feeling of responsibility on their part for the over-all program of instruction. Traditional teachers are apt to be resentful of curriculum meetings or other attempts to involve them in policy-making, for they may feel that there is an implication that they are either doing unsatisfactory work or not enough of it, that something is being put over on them, or that group discussions have little value.

CONCLUSION

The individual who would initiate a program of curriculum development should understand a number of things if he is to be successful. First, he must have a clear understanding of the basic problems of curriculum development. Second, he must realize that he is embarking on a program aimed at the deliberate change of society and individuals, and as he has no sanction to do either, he must work to develop the insights of others instead of imposing his own views. Third, he must have a working knowledge of the dynamics of behavioral change not only in terms of theory but in terms of human behavior. Finally, he must understand the ethical and psychological requirements of the role he is to play and be able to control his own behavior in accordance with these requirements.

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FOR SECONDARY EDUCATION

CHAPTER TWO

The Re-educative Process in the Individual Setting

RE-EDUCATION MAY BE broadly defined as re-growing with support.[1] The assumption is that an individual's growth has become arrested and that in order for him to resume growing, it is necessary to locate the cause of the stoppage, face it realistically, and learn new behavior that will be more appropriate and effective than the old. To accomplish this successfully it is necessary that another person support the individual in his effort to re-grow. The re-educative process is a cooperative one in which both participants may not necessarily learn the same things but each will have a learning experience and each will grow as a result.

There are those who may question how this cooperative procedure is to take place without the subtle manipulation of the "pupil" by the re-educator. It is recognized that frank authoritarianism is more honest than pretended democracy. Re-education must jibe with democratic values if it is to be valid for education in a democracy.

RE-EDUCATION AND DEMOCRATIC VALUES

In order to help clarify doubts that may exist, the matter of the agreement of the re-educative process with certain democratic values will be examined.

[1] For an excellent summary of areas of agreement in re-education from the viewpoint of psychotherapists, see Watson's own summary on pp. 706–08 of Goodwin Watson, "Areas of Agreement in Psychotherapy," *American Journal of Orthopsychiatry,* 10 (October, 1940), pp. 698–709.

Respect for human personality. This is one of the basic democratic values, yet it squares with the principles of re-education. In curriculum development, it is the teacher's problems, the teacher's insights, and the teacher's solutions that are the core of the process. Self-decision is essential if values are to be permanently changed. In no other way can this be accomplished. As Tead says:

> The true means of permanently influencing others lie in the direction of fostering conditions in which people in and through their own inner desires come to seek the results which the leader also comes to desire . . . He may try exploitation—which means using others for purposes to which they are not consciously a willing party—and may seem to succeed temporarily. But far from succeeding in a long-time way and carrying on over a period of years, his exploitative use of psychology will bring its own defeat.[2]

Faith in human intelligence to solve problems. The function of the curriculum worker is to provide emotional support so that the teacher is strengthened to face his problems and experiment with more effective ways of solving them. As a re-educator he has faith that with this support the teacher will ultimately solve his problems.

Faith in the ultimate maturity, sociality, and rationality of solutions. This is probably the focus of the distrust among those who lack faith in the practicality of the democratic method. Will the "right" solution be chosen if constraint is removed?

Re-education is based on the assumption that there is within individuals a drive toward maturity, sociality, and rationality. As Rogers states:

> . . . it is based on a recognition that social behavior originates in a genuine desire to be social, that mature behavior grows out of a desire to be grown up; that affectionate behavior can only

[2] Ordway Tead, *Human Nature and Management: The Applications of Psychology to Executive Leadership.* 2nd Edition (New York, McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1933), p. 5. Quoted by permission of the publisher.

come from feelings of affection. We cannot *make* people social, or mature, or affectionate.[3]

Re-education squares with democratic values. It is neither a subtle form of authoritarianism nor a method of exploitation for ulterior ends. It is a process by which an individual or a group can be helped to grow in self-realization.

THE PROCESSES OF RE-EDUCATION

A number of processes that operate within the overall re-educative process have been identified by psychotherapists. These will be listed separately here, but they do not actually operate as discrete units in time. They are *aspects* of the process, but only in a general way do they operate as successive parts of it. They are:

1. The establishing of relationships.
2. The developing of free expression.
3. The gaining of insight.
4. The testing of reality.

These will be discussed in order.

1. *The Establishment of Relationships*

The whole purpose of the re-education process is to help the individual grow in independence and self-reliance. The first step is to establish a kind of relationship with the individual that will help him feel free to reveal his problems.

Some kind of relationship inevitably springs up between two people, such as teacher and curriculum worker. This "natural" phenomenon must be guided by the curriculum worker. He must know the kind of relationship that he wants to establish and must be able to detect the kind of relationship that the teacher may want to establish. It is his responsibility to direct the process in such a way that a desirable

[3] Carl R. Rogers, "Therapy in Guidance Clinics," *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology*, 38 (April, 1943), pp. 284–89. Quoted by permission of the American Psychological Association.

relationship will result. The following sections will discuss briefly the origin of human relationships and the type of relationship most suitable for the purposes of re-education.

(a) *The origin of human relationships.* One of Freud's contributions was the establishment of the importance of examining the early childhood experiences of the individual in the family group. It is in this group that the first experiences with other human beings take place and the foundations of subsequent human relations are laid. These family relationships may be roughly classified as *parent-child* and *sibling.* It is in the family group, also, that the individual has his first experiences with authority. Society vests in the parents authority to bring up the child, provided they do so according to society's dictates.

As the child matures he is supposed to move gradually from dependence on to independence of the parental authority. If he is given too much independence in the early years, he fails to become "socialized," that is, he fails to internalize cultural values. Similarly, if he is not permitted increasing independence as he grows up he may have difficulty in becoming socially and emotionally mature by the time he reaches adulthood.[4]

This balance of dependence and independence which is tilted from dependence to independence as the child grows to manhood, creates an ambivalent emotional attitude in the child toward his parents. It is composed, on the one hand, of "love" for the parents because they help him to meet his basic needs, and, on the other, of "hate" because he is dependent upon them for the fulfillment of those needs.

The subordinate-superior relationship between the status leader, or curriculum worker, and the teacher is psychologically similar to the parent-child relationship.[5] If the teacher

[4] See O. H. Mowrer and Clyde Kluckhohn, "Dynamic Theory of Personality," in J. McV. Hunt (Ed.), *Personality and the Behavior Disorders* (New York, The Ronald Press Company, 1944), vol. I, pp. 97–98.

[5] Douglas McGregor, "Conditions of Effective Leadership in the Industrial Organization," *Journal of Consulting Psychology,* 8 (March–April, 1944), p. 56.

is dependent upon the job for the necessities of living, and if the status leader has control over the teacher's success or continuance in the job, the situation is psychologically similar to the one existing in the family group. It is not surprising, therefore, that the attitude of many teachers toward the status leader is often similar to that of a child toward a parent. Nor is it insignificant in this connection that some school leaders are called "Pop" or "The Old Man."

Just as the teacher's attitude toward the person or persons in authority may be colored by his experiences with his parents, so his relations with his associates or pupils may be affected by his experiences with his siblings. Blos relates the case of a teacher who was reacting to the other members of the staff as she did to her own sisters. The youngest of five girls, she had always had to battle with her older sisters for any advantage. She was doing an unusually competent job of guiding her students, but it was discovered that she identified herself strongly with them and looked upon the staff as she did her sisters. Her attempt to guide the students was strongly dominated by a desire to "protect" them from the "conspiring" of her colleagues. Even though the educational result was desirable, the unhealthy motivation indicated the need for re-education.[6]

The significance of the foregoing is that the curriculum worker as a re-educator must consider carefully the type of relationship that he permits to develop between himself and the teachers. Teachers who have been subject to the personal authority as well as the official authority of their superiors tend to generalize from their family experience and to react toward their superiors as they did toward their parents or siblings. The curriculum worker must be able to control the development of the relationship between himself and the teachers, so that there is a clear distinction between his official authority and his personal convictions. This means that

[6] Peter Blos, "About Adult Attitudes Toward Children," *Progressive Education*, 18 (February, 1941), pp. 90–94.

there must be a distinction in his *own mind* between his personal ideas and the policies which he is responsible for carrying out. In addition, it is his responsibility to help the teachers to make the discrimination. In short, the curriculum worker as re-educator must have a clear conception of the kind of relationship that is professionally desirable between the teachers and himself.

(b) *Types of human relationships.* Relationships between human beings are of many kinds. Cooke and Slavson have both made analyses of a number of important types. These will be examined to discover, if possible, the kind of relationship most desirable professionally between the curriculum maker and the teachers.

Cooke has analyzed and listed various possible kinds of human relationships but admits that the list is not necessarily complete. He indicates that basic relationships between one man and another may have the following qualities:

1. The indifferent attitude of strangers
2. Master and slave
3. Rivalry or conflict where the mastery-submissive relationship has not been settled
4. Father-son
5. Brother-brother
6. Partnership

Among the basic relationships possible between men and women he lists the following:

1. father-daughter
2. mother-son
3. brother-sister
4. husband-wife
5. sweetheart

Some of Cooke's conclusions regarding these relationships are of interest here.

The essence of supervision and administration is masculine whether a particular executive happens to be a man or a woman. Most readers will agree that the conscious relationship between

a superintendent and his men teachers should be a compound of master, senior partner, and slight traces of the father.

Perhaps many readers . . . will agree that the master, older-brother relationship [between the superintendent or principal and women teachers] is the best, with, of course, myriad variations.[7]

The contribution of Cooke's analysis is recognition of the fact that family relationships operate, even unconsciously, in the work situation, and that there are several possible kinds of human relationships. On the debit side, Cooke's classification tends toward vagueness. For example, what are the essential characteristics of a partnership? And how does a superintendent establish a relationship that is "a compound of master, senior partner, and slight traces of the father"? Finally, his classification suggests the exploitation of family relationships in the school situation. This, however, is precisely what must be avoided if the members of the staff are to grow to emotional maturity.

Slavson has made an analysis of basic human relationships which has the advantage of getting at the functional quality of the relationships, and for this reason his definitions gain in clarity. He points out that the dominance-submission factor is present in all human relationships and therefore this factor must be accepted as normal. This is due to the "individual's need to dominate as against the equally psychological disposition to submit." His classification is as follows:

Parasitic —complete dependence upon a "host" for survival.
Symbiotic —mutual dependence of one or more organisms upon each other for subsistence and survival.
Anaclitic —one person puts forward another to handle for him the actualities of life and to protect him against them.
Supportive —one individual attaches himself to another member of the group before he can bear to face physical and emotional interactivity.

[7] Dennis H. Cooke, *Administering the Teaching Personnel* (Chicago, Benjamin H. Sanborn and Company, 1939), pp. 4–6.

Transference—the patient accepts the therapist emotionally in place of a parent, and transfers on to him the attitudes and feelings tied up with the parental image. This may be positive or negative.

Equipodal —all persons are on an equal footing of "give and take." The domination and submission roles are taken on at different times, but there is no drive on the part of one to subjugate or exploit the other.[8]

This last relationship is obviously the most desirable. It means that the group is composed of members who are neither completely independent nor dependent but who are "dependable." [9] That is, they can assume leadership when called upon to do so by the group and can relinquish it to subordinate themselves when others are selected. It means that they can accept impersonal authority without hostility or feelings of inferiority and refuse to accept the imposition of personal authority. It also means that they are neither dependent upon nor independent of the group but can work well with it and work well on their own. In short, when this type of relationship exists, it denotes that the individuals who compose the group are mature and emotionally free to cooperate or work alone on an adult give-and-take basis.

To sum up these last two sections, then, human relationships are learned in family life during childhood. They may be grouped as parent-child and sibling relationships. The relationships learned in the family are frequently carried over into relations with other adults in the work situation. The most desirable kind of relationship, however, is "equipodal": the individuals in the relationships are emotionally mature and can accept either ascendant or subordinate roles as the need may be. The curriculum worker should set as his goal the development of this kind of relationship among the members of the staff.

[8] S. R. Slavson, "Types of Relationships and Their Application to Psychotherapy," *American Journal of Orthopsychiatry*, 15 (April, 1945), pp. 267–76.

[9] Mowrer and Kluckhohn, *op. cit.*, p. 97.

Re-education in Relationships

When a teacher tries to establish with the curriculum worker the kind of relationship that he had with his parents or siblings, it is necessary for the curriculum worker to "work through" this attempt in order to achieve an equipodal relationship. This is done by patiently helping the teacher to differentiate between the authority vested in the curriculum worker's position and his personal convictions. It cannot be done by coldly informing the teacher that "I am not your father (or mother), so do not treat me as such." A process of re-education in relationships is required so that the teacher will gradually come to see the differences between authority and the person who is entrusted with it.

As the first step in helping the teacher to make this differentiation, the curriculum worker must establish a relationship with the teacher somewhat similar to the relationship that the teacher learned in his family life. He is *emotionally accepting.* He accepts the teacher as a worth-while person. He is warm, approving, and sincerely interested in the teacher. While he is aware of the teacher's attempt to establish a family-type relationship, he does not condemn him for it.

At the same time, the curriculum worker is *objective.* While he accepts the teacher emotionally, he does not let himself become blind to the teacher's behavior. As the emotional relationship between them becomes stronger, the curriculum worker helps the teacher to see the differences between the authority vested in his position and his personal ideas. He does not make decisions that the teacher should rightfully make for himself. On the other hand, if a decision is governed by official school policy, the curriculum worker tells him so. The curriculum worker does not perform services for the teacher that the teacher is responsible for doing. However, he does perform with willingness and vigor those services for which he as the curriculum worker is

responsible. Similarly, in giving information, the curriculum worker differentiates between what he should give out and what the teacher should secure for himself. In sum, while the curriculum worker accepts the teacher emotionally as a *person,* he is objective about the differences that may exist between their authority and responsibilities in the school situation.

The curriculum worker is not only *emotionally accepting* and *objective* but he is *supportive.* He encourages the teacher to think about possibly more effective ways of carrying on his work in the classroom and he supports him in his attempts to try out his ideas in practice. He supports the teacher not only in success but in failure. He helps him to evaluate his experiences and to capitalize on them. Whether the teacher is successful or not, the curriculum worker encourages him to try again. In short, the curriculum worker is continuously supportive in the teacher's attempts to re-grow.

The teacher does not necessarily take this behavior on the part of the curriculum worker "lying down." In fact, he may make strenuous efforts to force him to play the role according to his expectations. He may suspect the worker of playing a game with him, or of being "inexperienced," "weak," or just "dumb." He may complain that he can never get a "direct answer" from him or that "you can't pin him down to anything." He may even try to trick him into "taking off his mask." The curriculum worker must, of course, be prepared for this.

The teacher's basic attitude toward the curriculum worker may be a mixture of dependence and independence. He may demand that the curriculum worker solve his problems for him but at the same time resist any suggestions offered to help him with his problems. He may demand that the curriculum worker tell him precisely what he is to teach and how he is to teach it, and then proceed to teach what he has always taught in the way he has always taught it.

If this occurs, the curriculum worker does not waver. He

continues to be emotionally accepting, objective, and supportive. In time, the teacher may come to see more clearly what his relationship with the curriculum worker should be and as a result of his experiences be better prepared to assume more adult relationships with others.

Re-education in Relationships and Curriculum Development

In the traditional approach to education, the curriculum is fixed. It is prescribed by the course of study, or by the textbook, or by administrative direction. The teacher's job is to transmit the subject matter and to cover the material set forth in the amount of time allotted. There is little leeway in this set-up for teachers to make decisions; practically all the major decisions have been made and the only possible place for flexibility lies in the methods of teaching, which are more or less prescribed by the supervisor.

The modern conception of the curriculum demands much more initiative and decision-making on the part of teachers. They have a considerable say in deciding not only what is to be taught but also how it is to be taught. There is an assumption that the teacher is or can become an emotionally mature, professionally trained person who is capable of making socially responsible decisions concerning the education of the young. Whereas the older concept of the curriculum fostered dependence upon authority, the new fosters initiative and self- and group-decision. Dependent personalities, therefore, find it difficult to adjust to the newer approach. The case of Miss T., described by Cole, highlights this problem.

Miss T. is a teacher of high school mathematics. She is a relatively popular teacher both among the students and among her colleagues. It is admitted that she is not an especially exciting person, and students tend to speak of her pleasantness and sympathy rather than of her instruction. But she is the teacher to whom pupils go when they are in trouble. On Sunday afternoons she has an "open house" where one can find a good share of the pupils in her current classes, as well as many who have been in her

classes at some earlier time. Socially she is unusually well adjusted and seems thoroughly content with her life and work. Other teachers like her so well that there does not appear to be jealousy of her popularity with the pupils. Of late years, however, the boys and girls have begun to speak rather slightingly of her teaching; they call her a "nice old thing," pay attention courteously in class, but are inclined to regard the time they spend there as largely wasted. When Miss T. began to teach, the high school required that each student take a year of algebra. Miss T. was really in her element in explaining the mathematically obvious to dull pupils. At the present time, the requirement is no longer in force, and only pupils who like mathematics elect algebra. For these students, Miss T. is not a good teacher, and it is they who criticize her. An examination of her methodology reveals the reasons for their attitude. She uses the same textbook that she herself studied in her high school days, although the school has changed texts several times and she is supposed to be using a much more modern book. She knows the problems by heart. She plods through the book each semester, point by point, varying her performance from year to year not at all. Her manner in class is charming, but she gives the superior pupils she now has very little in the way of intellectual stimulation. The trouble with Miss T. does not seem to be a deficiency in native ability but rather a childish dependence upon authority. She clearly does not feel secure with any text except the one she has practically memorized. When pupils ask questions that are outside the scope of her one book, she answers pleasantly enough but in effect brushes the queries aside and goes on as before. In faculty meetings, Miss T. speaks as though she were in favor of modern methods; and she is indeed a progressive teacher as far as her personal relations with her students are concerned, but she resists innovations that could force her into intellectual independence. She is socially an adult, but her mental life is still on the childish level of dependence upon authority.[10]

This dependence on the authority of a book was fostered by the older approach to the curriculum. As the curriculum developed, Miss T. failed to grow and was still dependent upon her first book. It would be difficult indeed for Miss T. to plan the course *with* her students, using a wide variety of reference

[10] Luella Cole, *Psychology of Adolescence,* Rev. Edition (New York, Rinehart and Company, 1948), pp. 612–13.

materials, and to give the intellectual stimulation they need.

A similar situation but in reverse is encountered, say, in Mr. A. Mr. A. may not have worked through his adolescent rebellion against parental authority, so he has never arrived at an acceptance of impersonal, social authority. As a result, he may view the decisions of the staff or the exertion of official authority on the part of the curriculum worker as a personal attack and an invasion of his rights as an individual. He may like to feel that he is independent of *all* authority and may resist attempts to show him that as a teacher he has social responsibilities and is subject to social authority.

This kind of false independence was fostered by the older conception of the curriculum. So few opportunities were provided for teachers to make decisions that they did not have opportunities to learn to differentiate between impersonal, social authority, and personal authority. They were confronted only with authority to which they were expected to submit, whether it was social *or* personal.

The Crucial Importance of Relationship Re-education

Re-education in relationships is of crucial importance for two reasons. First, each teacher has his own unique problems which have to be considered apart from the over-all problems of the school. There should be free and easy two-way communication between the curriculum worker and the teacher so that these problems can be attacked. Second, as the studies of Lewin and his associates have shown, the leader plays the crucial role in establishing interpersonal relationships among members of the group. The *type* of interpersonal relationships that develop within a group is determined largely by the way the leadership role is played.[11] *The leader sets the stage, therefore, for the development of equipodal*

[11] Summarized by Ronald Lippitt and Ralph K. White in "An Experimental Study of Leadership and Group Life," *Readings in Social Psychology* (New York, Henry Holt and Company, 1947), pp. 315–30.

relationships through the kind of relationships he establishes between himself and the individual members of the group.

In establishing relationships, there are several practical considerations that the curriculum worker must keep in mind. The first of these is that his *status wields a subtle power.* He may find that a decision apparently reached by a teacher after a seemingly free and open discussion of a problem was actually the result of submission to his status authority rather than the result of the teacher's own thinking. A "suggestion" offered to a dependent personality may easily be interpreted as an order.

Second, the curriculum worker should have a clear *awareness and control of his own emotions.* If he has an emotional need to dominate others, he may easily trick himself into believing that he is operating openly and rationally with others, when, as a matter of fact, the opposite is true. He can also fool himself into perceiving submissive personalities as "cooperative" people, lulling himself into the belief that decisions were reached on a free and equal basis. The curriculum worker should be familiar with his own typical emotional reactions and be able to control them.

Third, the curriculum worker should *avoid making decisions on problems that do not affect broad school policy but are confined solely to the individual teacher.* He can help a teacher to clarify his thinking, or he can suggest other sources of information; but wherever possible he should avoid making up the teacher's mind for him. Every time he makes a decision for a teacher, *he has weakened the teacher by that much.*

Fourth, when the curriculum worker has to make a decision in line with the responsibilities of his position, this *decision should be made on a rational basis and not on the basis of his personal notions or emotional feelings.* Nothing fosters dependence so much as for a staff to feel themselves at the mercy of the moods or personal whims of a status leader. The following are some of the sources of rational data that may be referred to as a basis of decision:

1. The requirements of the state department of education.
2. The written policies of the local board of education.
3. The written communications of the superintendent of schools.
4. The policies written in the school handbook.

If the problem for decision is not covered by any of these, the leader may resort to:

5. The consensus of opinion of the staff.
6. Objective data in the form of studies made in the field.

Or failing these,

7. His own logic, which is subject to revision if fallacies are found and subject to review by higher authority.

Where possible, these sources should be made visible and accessible to the staff. State department manuals should be available and other school policies should be written down. It is frustrating to an adult person to be denied something because "the board doesn't like it," or "the community won't stand for it," or the "superintendent or the principal is against it." The teacher is helpless to act further because the sources of the decision are inaccessible.

Fifth, not only must the decisions be based on rational data but a *channel for a rational change in the decision* should also be provided. If the *group* has made the decision, a way should be provided for the group to change its decision upon presentation of objections. If the *leader* has made the decision on the basis of his own logic, a way should be provided for exposing fallacies and revising the decision. Of course, in this case as in all, appeal to higher authority should be available.

Sixth, not only must decisions be based on rational data and a rational method provided for changing them but *provisions must be made to channel off the emotional feelings engendered by the decision.* This is a point that is frequently overlooked. The authoritarian leader not only makes the decisions, concealing his basis for them, but also demands automatic and enthusiastic acceptance. The democratic leader

makes his decisions on the basis of rational data and provides a rational method of change; but even he frequently overlooks the need for providing a channel for the siphoning off of emotions aroused by a decision. *If personality is to be respected, its emotionality as well as its rationality must be respected.* When an individual has been adversely affected by a decision, he may have no rational objection to it; however, he may not necessarily be enthusiastic about it. As the private said to the sergeant, "You can make me do it, but you can't make me *like* it." Emotions aroused by the change of behavior that a decision demands must be provided an outlet. The leader must accept and respect the *emotions* aroused by a decision, although he may at the same time expect the *decision* to be carried out or rational objections made to it.

To summarize, the modern approach to education calls for emotionally mature teachers who are able to make responsible decisions on their own without leaning on authority. In moving from the traditional to the modern approach, it is the responsibility of the curriculum worker to permit to develop only the kind of relationship that will foster initiative and self-decision. In doing this he should keep in mind the subtle power of his status, the need for control of his own emotions, the need to avoid making unnecessary decisions, and the need to base decisions on rational, visible, and accessible data while providing a channel for change and an outlet for the emotions aroused by the decision.

2. *Encouraging Free Expression*

A relationship becomes established between two people largely as the result of the quality of the communication between them.

In psychotherapy, the purpose of encouraging free expression, as in establishing the relationship, is to make the problem accessible to solution. The individual must feel free to speak out as he pleases. His expression cannot be hampered by moral considerations or the feelings of the therapist, or by

rules of etiquette. The atmosphere must be completely permissive if the underlying problem is to be verbalized. Furthermore, the therapist must help him to "get it all out" so that the problem can be seen objectively.

The same basic principle applies, although to a limited degree, in curriculum development. The problems of concern to the teachers are the focus of the effort. The atmosphere must be such that the teachers feel free to express themselves, and they too should be encouraged to "get it all out."

The curriculum worker as re-educator has a vital role to play in helping the teacher to define his problem. The following section will attempt to outline the kind of behavior he must exhibit if he is to facilitate the process. Consideration will be given also to dealing with the emotionally aggressive behavior of a person struggling with a problem.

Developing Rapport

The term "rapport" indicates a quality of relationship between people which permits them to communicate without any feeling of defensiveness. It is based on mutual confidence and respect. The term implies a coming together of two personalities. In ordinary language, for example, the phrase "close friends" is used. The term also implies a quality of "depth" in the relationship, and this is recognized in the phrase "a deep friendship."

The "coming-together" aspect of rapport has been described by Plant as occurring in three stages: "(1) I like you, (2) I trust you, and (3) Here is my problem." [12] To indicate the "depth" aspect of rapport, Hartwell has established four "levels." These he describes in descending order as: "(1) Friendly belief, (2) Personal trust, (3) Personality contact, (4) Dependent attachment." [13]

[12] James S. Plant, in class lecture at Teachers College, Columbia University, Summer Session, 1946.

[13] Samuel W. Hartwell, quoted and discussed by P. M. Symonds, in *The Psychology of Parent-Child Relationships* (New York, Appleton-Century-Crofts, Inc., 1939), pp. 211–16.

To apply Plant's horizontal approach, the relationship moves from "friendly belief" through "personal trust" to "personality contact." The curriculum worker may avoid a dependent attachment *by refusing to make any decision for the teacher that is not in line with official duty.* There the relationship must be arrested deliberately. A licensed medical practitioner is the only person who is given the right by society to make decisions for the emotionally ill. The curriculum worker therefore cannot take on cases of emotional disturbance for the purpose of giving therapy.

The control of the relationship between the curriculum worker and the teacher serves two purposes. The first of these is to make the teacher's teaching problems accessible to solution, which cannot happen if the teacher feels at all defensive in the presence of the worker. The purpose is *not* to make the teacher's personal *emotional* problems accessible, as in psychotherapy. The second purpose is one of mental hygiene. The curriculum worker as re-educator has a responsibility to control the relationship so that an unhealthy, dependent, and exploitative relationship does not develop. As stated previously, some kind of relationship is bound to develop between people working together. As the curriculum worker is the leader, the burden of the responsibility rests on him to establish only the kind of relationship that will lead to independence and self-sufficiency on the part of both the teacher and himself.

To achieve rapport the curriculum worker must deliberately and consciously try to establish a relationship with the teachers in which they will *like* him and *trust* him. This cannot be done by "backslapping" methods or attempts to become "popular." It is a procedure that involves certain attributes and techniques. Snyder has classified these as "rapport-getting attributes" and "warmth-producing techniques." Under "rapport-getting attributes" he lists "sensitivity to the feelings of others," "self-assurance," and "sincerity," while among "warmth-producing techniques" he includes "structur-

ing," "friendly conversation," "approval and encouragement," "permissiveness," and "clarification of feelings." [14]

"Rapport-Getting Attributes"

"Sensitivity to the feelings of others." The curriculum worker must be sensitive to the feelings of others. He must be able to "put himself in the other person's shoes" and *feel* what the teacher is feeling. And he must have genuine respect for these feelings. At the same time, he must be aware of the way in which his own phrasing of words, tone of voice, and physical movements are affecting the teacher and be able to make quick adjustments when they are not in harmony with the teacher's feelings. In short, he must have the attribute of being both sensitive and responsive to the feelings of other people.

"Self-assurance." The curriculum worker must have faith in himself and in his ability to deal effectively with the problems with which he is concerned. While he is sensitive and responsive to the mood of a teacher who, for example, may be worried and insecure about a problem that has arisen in class, he himself does not become worried and insecure. He must have faith that the problem will yield to solution just as other problems have, and his manner of dealing with the problem must convey that faith to the teacher. This is not to say that he may know the answer or the solution, but he does know that by using a sound method of problem-solving a solution can be found. In short, he must have self-assurance born of faith in himself and in the process of problem-solving.

"Sincerity." The sincerity of the curriculum worker must be genuine. He must have a sturdy faith in people. This can come from a belief that most behavior is learned and therefore can be changed. It can also come from a belief that most people, particularly school teachers, *want* to "do the right thing." They may err at times in knowing what "the right

[14] William U. Snyder, "'Warmth' in Nondirective Counseling," *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology*, 41 (October, 1946), pp. 491–95.

thing" is in a particular situation, but their desire to do what is socially approved is usually present.

Dislike, disapproval, annoyance, or inability to accept others emotionally cannot be concealed. While no direct indication of antagonism may be given, the other person will feel the lack of warmth and genuine interest. He may not be able to "put his finger" on precisely what gives rise to his feelings. It may consist only of impressions gained from "the way he looked at me" or "something in his voice" or "something about his manner." But from that point on, he will be on his guard and will reveal little about himself so long as he does not feel it safe to do so. The sincerity of the curriculum worker must be real. It cannot be assumed at will, nor can feelings of disapproval be successfully covered up.

"Warmth-Producing Techniques"

"Structuring." One technique helpful in producing warmth is structuring, a process by which the curriculum worker helps the teacher to see how each is to play his role in dealing with the problem. He stresses the importance of getting the whole problem "out." He leads the teacher to see that he is not going to solve his problem for him but rather to help him solve it for himself. However, he also makes it clear by his action that his role is not merely a passive one of listening to the teacher but an active one of helping him to find a solution for his problem. This is not done by blunt telling, such as "Of course this is your problem and you will have to solve it for yourself, but I'll be glad to help you with it." It is effected by being actively interested in the problem while avoiding the making of decisions and the giving of "answers."

"Friendly conversation." If the teacher shows a desire for friendly conversation it is helpful to comply. It may indicate a hesitancy on his part to plunge into the problem, or it may be that he is suspicious of the curriculum worker's eagerness to help and wants assurance that he is not unwittingly falling in with some plan that the curriculum worker may want

to "put over." Or it may be that the teacher is not quite sure how to start on his problem and has to "talk around" until he can find a good "place" to start. Whatever the teacher's motivation, the curriculum worker "goes along" with the conversation but at the same time holds himself in readiness to attack the problem when the teacher is prepared to do so.

"Approval and encouragement." Another warmth-producing technique is approval and encouragement. This does not mean flattery or personal praise but rather acknowledgment of genuine progress. The emphasis should be on the accomplishment, not on the person who accomplished it. For example, if the teacher suggests a solution to a problem that seems to the curriculum worker to be practical he should say, "I think *that* is a practical suggestion," not "I think *your* idea is a practical one," or "I think you are wonderful to think of such a practical suggestion." Flattery and personal praise may be temporarily successful in producing warmth, but in the long run they lose their effectiveness and in time may even produce the opposite effect of antagonism.

"Permissiveness." This is a technique for helping the other person feel free to be himself. Its purpose is to help him to feel that he can express himself spontaneously without fear of disapproval or restrictions, that he does not have to choose his words or be on his guard concerning what he might reveal. This technique has two major aspects, the control of physical movements and the control of verbal responses.

Perhaps the more important of these is the way in which the curriculum worker controls his physical movements. His over-all posture should be one of relaxed listening. There should be no evidence of tension, yet he should be poised in concentration on the teacher's words. A smile, nod, or vocal acknowledgment, such as "mm-hm," "I see," or "I understand," is helpful in letting the teacher know that he is understood, that his words are being followed, and that he is expected to continue. On the other hand, a frown, a raising of the eyebrow, a flicker of the eyelids, or a turning of the

head may be interpreted as a sign of disapproval. When the teacher tells about a happening that he considers "bad," there should be no change in facial expression on the part of the curriculum worker nor should his tone of voice indicate tension. The curriculum worker should concentrate on the teacher's *description* of the "bad" event, not on its possible ill effects or on passing judgment on whether or not it was "bad." In short, the curriculum worker should be completely attuned to listening to and understanding what the teacher is saying.

The other aspect of the technique of permissiveness is the control of verbal responses. In the first place, there should be no deviation from the verbal material offered by the teacher. The curriculum worker should introduce no new ideas, analogies, anecdotes, or similar experiences of his own. Furthermore, he should try to pitch his response to the teacher's level of speech usage in so far as he can. For example, if the teacher complains that he is having difficulty with a certain student, the curriculum worker should not say, "You find the behavior of this adolescent obnoxious, eh!" or "The little brat is getting your goat, I see!" but simply restate the problem in the teacher's own words. Questions should be asked mainly for the purpose of clearing up obscure points in the teacher's discourse, not to inject an idea into his thinking or to "put him on the spot." Opinions or statements, if offered, should be tentative, and if they draw a negative response, dropped. Finally, labels that have been associated with controversial issues in education should be avoided, such as democratic and authoritarian, progressive and traditional, functional and academic, and modern and old-fashioned. The curriculum worker, in sum, should try to control his verbal responses in such a way that the teacher feels free to talk spontaneously and to tell his "story" completely.

"Clarification of feelings." The curriculum worker can help a teacher to clarify his feelings (1) by concentrating attention on them, accepting them and helping him to find

labels for them, and (2) by avoiding entanglement in the intellectual content of what is said. For example, if a teacher bursts into his office and proclaims in heated tones that his class is "acting like a bunch of wild Indians" and that "something must be done about it immediately," the curriculum worker's reply should be something like this, "You seem upset. Sit down and tell me about it." From that point on he should direct attention to the teacher's feelings by offering possible labels for them, such as "this made you angry," "you were exasperated by this," "you had been hopeful," "this discouraged you." These responses should continue until the teacher seems satisfied that his feelings have been thoroughly verbalized and accurately labeled.

The curriculum worker should not let himself become entangled in the intellectual content of the teacher's statements. For example, he should not reply that the teacher must be exaggerating, that the children in that school are usually well-behaved youngsters, or that he doesn't know what can be done about the situation. The immediate problem is the teacher's feelings, not his words. After the feelings have been dealt with, then the matter of what is to be done in the class can be investigated.

This point is considered so important that the next section will be devoted to a fuller discussion of it.

Catharsis and the Acceptance of Hostility

Probably no factor clogs the functioning of "human relations" more than lack of understanding of emotionally aggressive, hostile behavior and how to deal with it.

Emotions frequently become intensified from lack of ability to deal with a situation. On experiencing a feeling of emotion, the well-adjusted individual recognizes his lack of ability and sets about finding a more effective way of dealing with the situation. The untrained individual, who has not learned to recognize the cause of his emotion, tends to become "filled up" and to seek an outlet to reduce his tension. He may do

any one of a number of things to get rid of his bottled-up feelings. Instead of recognizing the cause and setting about developing mastery of the situation, he may blame himself; he may decide that he's "just no good"; or he may express a wish to get out of the situation.

More frequently, however, in a situation of this kind, the individual will rationalize his emotions. For example, the teacher who says that his class acts like a "lot of wild Indians" is really saying that he has lost control of them. He doesn't know what to do with them, but instead of accepting this as a diagnosis and seeking to develop a better way of dealing with them, he blames them in order to bolster his own feeling of effectiveness. By labeling them "wild Indians" he is inferring that they are uncivilized and therefore *no* teacher could be expected to handle them. By rationalizing he tries to maintain his belief in himself as a capable teacher. Sometimes, however, if he cannot find relief by "introjecting" or rationalizing his emotional tension, he may "scapegoat" a substitute outside the situation. He may go home and "bawl out" his wife or he may seek out the curriculum worker.

It is here that the curriculum worker may make a number of errors. As pointed out above, he may get *entangled in the intellectual content* of what is said. He may disagree with the teacher, pointing out that the children in the school all come from nice families and seem to be well-behaved youngsters. From there on, the discussion may become an intellectual wrangle over whether or not the children are "wild Indians." Such an approach is entirely out of place, for it defeats the very purpose for which the teacher came to him, namely, to give vent to his feelings.

Or, the curriculum worker may make another kind of error. He may *counteraggress against the teacher.* He may become indignant and point out that he is a busy man and cannot be bothered with such details. Why blame him if the teacher can't control the class? And he may send the teacher away with instructions not to come back with such problems

again. The result of this approach is that the teacher not only has been unable to relieve his tension but has also been "bawled out," which compounds his problem.

Or, the curriculum worker may have stumbled on another technique—that of *making himself "the target of aggression."* This is a technique that if hit upon by chance and found effective may be used exploitatively. The curriculum worker does not argue or counteraggress but listens to the whole story. In fact, he helps the teacher to get the whole problem out, but then *he blames himself.* He says it's all his fault; he shouldn't have assigned the teacher to that class anyway. The result is that the teacher has given vent to his feelings and for that reason feels grateful to the leader, but, on the other hand, he feels guilty, for "deep down" he knows that it is he who is at fault and not the curriculum worker. This gives the curriculum worker an emotional control over the teacher that he can exploit. The teacher feels so guilty about the situation that he cannot bring himself to go back to the curriculum worker but he feels that he is a "wonderful man" for having taken the blame. He is indebted to him. However, the curriculum worker has not helped the teacher to find a more effective way of dealing with the situation. He has not helped him to grow and he has held up further growth by making the teacher dependent upon him.

There is still another way that the situation might be handled. This might be called *the "educational" way.* The curriculum worker helps the teacher to get the whole problem out so that the teacher is emotionally relieved, but then he *tells* the teacher how he should act in order to overcome his inadequacy. He suggests a more effective technique for dealing with the class. If the teacher tries the technique and finds it effective, he may be grateful to the curriculum worker and admire him as "smart" or even "brilliant." (This to bolster his own ego.) But, there will also be a feeling of resentment which, if the teacher is a dependent personality, may be suppressed, or, if he is not, may be expressed in such words as

"he's smart but he knows it" or he is "brilliant but a little conceited." The curriculum worker may have helped the teacher to substitute an effective technique for an ineffective one but he has not helped him to grow in the sense that he is more *self*-developed. (An individual may be stretched two inches by tying weights to his feet and suspending him by his wrists, but it cannot be said that he has *grown* two inches.) Furthermore, he has made the teacher dependent upon him for "the answers," and the teacher experiences feelings of hostility because of the dependence.

The final way of dealing with this situation might be called *the "re-educative" way.* Again the curriculum worker helps the teacher to get the whole problem out, but when the emotional tension has become dissipated, instead of blaming himself or giving the answer to the problem he leads the teacher to think of ways in which he might have handled the situation differently, ways that might have been more effective in that situation. He then encourages the teacher to select a method that seems to hold the most promise of being more effective in a similar situation. After one is selected he may discuss it briefly with the teacher so that it is clear in his mind what to do the next time the situation arises. Then he may leave the teacher with the idea that he will be interested in knowing how it works out; if it doesn't, perhaps they can discuss it further and work out a better approach.

In this approach there are certain basic principles upon which the curriculum worker operates.

1. The curriculum worker accepts the hostility which the teacher is projecting upon him, for he understands that he is serving only as a convenient substitute or a symbol upon which the teacher can loose his ire. He is the "straw man" that the teacher sets up so that he can vent his feelings by "knocking him down."

2. He encourages *catharsis,* that is, a purging of the teacher's emotion, by respecting his feelings and helping him get all of them verbalized.

3. He *directs attention to a rational definition of the problem* but only after the teacher's emotional tension has abated, for he knows that a person can't "see straight" when he is emotionally upset. He may have to make several attempts before he is successful.

4. After the problem has been defined to the satisfaction of the *teacher,* the curriculum worker then *turns attention to a consideration of better ways of dealing with it.* In doing this, he tacitly ignores the question of "whose fault." However, if the teacher wishes to find out what the curriculum worker's opinion of him is before proceeding with constructive measures, he may test him out by accusing himself as the one at fault. In this case, the curriculum worker may use the *technique of reassurance,* pointing out how complex the process of teaching is and how difficult it is to know always the precise thing to do in a situation.

Or, the teacher may be suffering from genuine guilt feelings and may wish to make a "confession." In this case, the curriculum worker respects his feelings and offers no evaluative comments. His basic approach is, "You feel bad about this." The technique of reassurance is out of place here, for if the teacher *wants* to blame himself, it may only hamper his self-indictment. Furthermore, reassurance is not needed; the chances are the teacher will feel better when his guilt is "out" and he will then reassure himself.

In either case, whether it is a "testing out" or a "confession," the curriculum worker must hold up consideration of constructive measures until the teacher is ready for them. However, while he holds back temporarily, he must get to a consideration of more effective techniques, for otherwise no growth can take place. Too frequently, following "catharsis" the individual feels so good that he is apt to shake the curriculum worker warmly by the hand, thank him for "the advice" (which has not been given), and walk out, thinking what a wonderful man the curriculum worker "really is." He does not realize that he is no better prepared to deal with a similar

situation in the future than he was in the past. He has merely become dependent upon the curriculum worker to soothe his psychic wounds.

5. Out of the consideration of more effective ways of dealing with the situation, *one or more ways proposed by the teacher should be selected by him and discussed so that it is clear to him what he is to do the next time.* Or, now that the discussion is on a rational basis, the curriculum worker may offer several alternatives for the teacher to test out, leaving it in the teacher's hands which to accept or reject.

6. The curriculum worker *encourages further communication* by indicating interest in how the teacher will make out next time. This is done with no personal urge on his part to see if the teacher uses one of his ideas. Nor is it done from an official standpoint, to "check up" on the teacher. It merely indicates that his "door is open."

7. Finally, the curriculum worker *encourages an experimental attitude toward behavior* by suggesting that none of the ways decided upon may work and that further research may be needed. This tends to de-emphasize the curriculum worker as a "mastermind" who knows the answers and who can "trouble-shoot" classroom problems from his office chair. It helps to structure his role as a co-worker who is helpful in clarifying problems, and it tends to protect the ego of the teacher by suggesting that another failure is entirely possible and that this failure does not mean that the teacher is a poor teacher but only that the method was unsatisfactory, and that perhaps further experimentation is necessary in order to obtain a satisfactory solution to the problem.

Summary

A persistent block to good human relations is the inability to deal with emotionally aggressive behavior. When an individual is emotionally upset he is prone to make hostile, negative, and irrational or at least nonrational statements. It is "natural" for the person to whom they are addressed either

to try to rebut them intellectually or to counteraggress with a "what are you picking on me for" attitude.

The individual trained in human relations knows from experience that emotions must be "gotten out." He therefore aids the individual in "purging" himself completely. This catharsis may bring insight immediately, but not necessarily so. Still, it is one of the phenomena of human relations that when all negative feelings are out, positive feelings tend to appear. *This is the "golden moment" to direct attention to a rational consideration of the problem.* Too frequently it becomes an occasion for handshaking and backslapping, or it may be seized upon by the curriculum worker to inject his own ideas into the other person's thinking. If the curriculum worker can keep himself out of the process and guide it skillfully, the incident may become a valuable re-educative experience that will lead to a new level of self-reliance and independence.

As Allport points out, catharsis alone may not bring insight, but it sometimes seems to be a "necessary vestibule" to "the process of re-education." [15]

3. *The Gaining of Insight*

In the process of defining the problem, insight frequently is achieved. By insight is meant the ability to see *for* one's self; the arriving at new perceptions out of one's own thinking. It also has the connotation of seeing *into* one's own self; to become consciously aware of one's own motivations and attitudes. The word "gaining" is used deliberately to convey the impression of an ongoing process. Insight *develops.* Seldom if ever does it come as a mystical flash in which an individual and his problem are fully revealed to himself.

There seem to be three main elements in the development of insight. They are defined by Rogers as "an altering concept of self, a newer perception of the problem in an altering

[15] Gordon W. Allport, "Catharsis and the Reduction of Prejudice," *The Journal of Social Issues,* 1 (August, 1945), p. 7.

frame of reference, and a feeling of a new adequacy based on the newer concept of self and the newer perception of the problem." [16] These will be discussed in turn.

"An Altering Concept of Self"

In defining his problems, the individual gets to know himself better. He develops a clearer picture of his motives, his attitudes, his beliefs. This may involve a tortuous process in which the individual may find excuses for himself, may point to other complicating factors, and may protect his ego at every turn, before he is finally able to face his real self fully. But if his perception of himself is accepted all along the way and if he is skillfully guided, he can come to a complete acceptance of himself as he really is.

An example of a girl coming face to face with herself is given in the following excerpt from Cantor. She has been a student in a class which, unlike any other class that she has attended, has been conducted along re-educative lines. She has had difficulty with the class, as she states, and in analyzing the difficulty has come to know herself better.

"Being a person who has lived an extremely sheltered life with everything handed to me on a platter, this course at least has been a new experience for me. Every other course has meant, take notes for an hour, learn them, and hope to remember until after the final. So, it has been a relief to get away from that old routine and to do something new and different. But this course has been difficult, too, in a way. I'm afraid of the new. I've been taught to be afraid of it. I'm timid, and when I talk with so many people around to look at me and hear me, I blush, which makes me self-conscious and end up rather frustrated. If other classes, both in high school and here, had been similar to this one I'd [have] been conditioned to it, but none of them have been. We were to accept the teacher's opinion and our opinion should be the same as his, so that left no room for questioning. I'd never

[16] This section is based on material drawn from Carl R. Rogers, "The Development of Insight in a Counseling Relationship," *Journal of Consulting Psychology*, 8 (November–December, 1944), pp. 331–41, and Carl R. Rogers, *The Implications of Non-Directive Therapy for the Handling of Social Conflicts* (New York, Hinds, Hayden and Eldredge, 1948).

had the opportunity before and now that I got it, a few months ago, I found it very hard to take. I simply didn't know how, even though I did try to some extent." [17]

Out of this excerpt the following attitudes may be drawn:

1. "It has been a relief to get away from that old routine and do something new."
2. "I'm afraid of the new."
3. "I'm timid . . . with so many people around."
4. "I blush, which makes me self-conscious and end up rather frustrated."
5. "I simply didn't know how."

However, she cushions the blow to her self-esteem with these justifications:

1. "Being a person who has lived an extremely sheltered life with everything handed to me on a platter. . . ."
2. "This course . . . has been a new experience for me."
3. "Every other course has meant, take notes for an hour, learn them, and hope to remember until after the final."
4. "This course has been difficult."
5. "I've been taught to be afraid of it [the new]."
6. "If other classes, both in high school and here, had been similar to this one I'd [have] been conditioned to it."
7. "I'd never had the opportunity before."
8. "I did try to some extent."

And so the process goes on, step by step. An admission of inadequacy is followed by a justification which protects the ego from hurt every step of the way. The general tone of the remarks are, "Yes, I'm inadequate but it's not my fault."

In analyzing her difficulties with the course, she is beginning to get a clearer picture of herself, her inadequacies and her past experience. She has not yet reached the point where she can say to herself frankly and freely, "I'm obviously inadequate. My past experience in both home and school have combined to produce this but that's all water over the dam. The point is what am I going to do about it?"

[17] Nathaniel Cantor, *Dynamics of Learning* (Buffalo, N.Y., Foster & Stewart Publishing Corporation, 1946), pp. 261–62.

Nevertheless, her conception of herself is in the process of altering. She is beginning to face her inadequacies and to analyze the factors that helped to produce them. She has not reached the goal, but she is on her way. And in that direction lies growth.

"New Perceptions of the Problem in an Altering Frame of Reference"

In attempting to define a problem in a non-threatening atmosphere, new points of reference are frequently perceived that gradually bring about a change in the frame of reference.

The following is a reconstruction of an actual conference between a curriculum worker and a young man having his first teaching experience. While some of the details may not be exact, an attempt has been made to preserve the essential validity of the incident. Those who may find this kind of report unacceptable as evidence may wish to view it as an illustration only.

Teacher enters (obviously upset):	Do you know this Tommy Filmore? I'd like to smack him in the nose! How that kid gets on my nerves! I can take a lot from kids but he really gets me. He's impossible!
Curriculum worker:	What happened?
Teacher (sitting):	Well, toward the end of the period, I gave the class some problems to do so they could get some practice on what we'd been covering in the lesson. We'd been working on problems in which the answer could only be approximate. When the bell rang I asked the class to turn in their papers and he'd written across the front of his "this is the trouble with the G. D. Algebra." He didn't spell it out, he just said "G. D."
Curriculum worker:	Unh-huh.
Teacher:	He's been like that right along. Always griping if I didn't give him the one right

way to get the answer and muttering under his breath how he wished he had Miss —— for a teacher, that she really knows Math. I could smack him.

Curriculum worker: Why do you suppose he wants Miss ——?

Teacher: Well, he's all right with me when I give him just one way of solving a problem or when he can get the exact answer, but if I don't, he gets sore. He wants a *formula* while I'm trying to show him how he can get the same answer by working the problem different ways. But with him it's got to be just so—no ifs, no ands, no buts. If it isn't that way he gets sore.

Curriculum worker: You say he's all right with you when you give him one way of working a problem or if the answer is exact, but he blows up when you give him several ways to do a problem or if the answer can't be exact, is that it?

Teacher: Yes, that's it. Those indefinite things get him down; otherwise he's all right.

Curriculum worker: He seems to need the security of a definite answer, doesn't he?

Teacher: Yes, all the time. He presses me all the time for the exact answer.

Curriculum worker: Sounds like the kind of kid who is pretty insecure, who seems to need the security of definiteness, doesn't he?

Teacher: Ye-ah.
(Pause)

Curriculum worker: Do you know much about this boy—about his home life, I mean?

Teacher: N-n-n-no. Not *too* much.

Curriculum worker: Sometimes, things happen to a kid that make him insecure, so that he wants things to be clear and definite.

Teacher: Ye-ah.
(Pause)
Where would I find out—in the Guidance Office?

Curriculum worker: Yes, you might look for some bad experience like a divorce in the family, or a serious accident or illness.

Teacher: That's an idea. I'll do that. (Leaving) Thanks.

Next Day

Teacher (entering excited): Hey! How did you know?

Curriculum worker: How did I know what?

Teacher: How did you know Tommy Filmore's parents were divorced?

Curriculum worker: I didn't.

Teacher: Yes, they were divorced when Tommy was six years old, the year he probably entered school. The poor kid! No wonder he wants everything to be definite.

The teacher in this case changed his perception of a student from a hostile view of him as an "impossible" person to a sympathetic one as a "poor kid." How did this come about? The following is offered as an explanation.

To the teacher, lacking the self-assurance that comes with experience, Tommy's resistance to his teaching was a threat. He may have been making the common mistake of trying to communicate to the class some of the exciting discoveries he had made about mathematics without first considering the readiness of his students to accept them. He may also have been motivated by a desire to impress them (and himself) with his knowledge. Tommy's insistence, therefore, upon "formulas" and "exact answers" and his muttered yearnings for the other teacher were blocks in his path toward his goal. In this frame of reference, Tommy, who created the blocks,

was perceived as an "impossible" person, one whom the teacher would like to "smack" (out of his way).

In his discussion with the curriculum worker, the teacher was assisted in defining the problem without threat to his ego or blame concerning his own motivation or actions. It finally developed that Tommy behaved the way he did only in one kind of situation and that was one in which there was a variable approach to a problem or the solution was inconclusive. The frame of reference then shifted to what caused Tommy to be so insecure that he could not accept a variable or inconclusive approach. A divorce in his family when Tommy was six years old was perceived as the cause. What brought the teacher to accept a divorce in Tommy's family as "the cause" which resulted in his rush of sympathy and his perception of him as "a poor kid" is not known. Another teacher who had not been sensitized in one way or another to the damaging effects of a divorce upon a child's security might have brushed it aside as irrelevant or, if relevant, something that Tommy should have overcome in the intervening years.

However, the fact that the teacher did perceive it so placed the problem in a new frame of reference. The threat to his self-esteem with regard to his ability to teach was removed and the problem that remained was reduced to how Tommy could be helped to accept variable or inconclusive approaches to mathematics problems.

A sort of flow chart can be made of the new perceptions of the problem in an altering frame of reference.

Version I	Tommy is impossible, he gets on my nerves, I'd like to smack him.
Version II	Tommy is all right with me *except when* I try to teach, etc.
Version III	Tommy is an insecure boy.
Version IV	Why is Tommy an insecure boy?
Version V	Where will I find out?

Version VI Poor Tommy!

(*unverbalized*)
Version VII How help Tommy?

"A Feeling of a New Adequacy"

The newer conception of self plus the newer conception of the problem frequently leads to a feeling of a new adequacy in dealing with the situation. This will be illustrated by an excerpt from the notes of the girl student in Cantor's study.

> On the one hand, I had seen what I should do to make life better; on the other hand, there was what I had always done. It's darn hard to make a change like that. It can't be done just all of a sudden. Then, after it's done, I still worry about whether I did the right thing. I've always been terribly chicken-hearted anyway, and hate to hurt other people. I suppose my mother was hurt when I disobeyed her and bought the coat. But one can't please all the people all of the time. Of course, all of this changing has to be taken with a grain of salt and done bit by bit so as not to make an anomical [*sic*] mess out of the given person and his associates. It seems to be human nature to stick to the old no matter what their effect. But I do think that the little I've changed has been for the better in myself and will lead to more changes in the future. I do hope so.[18]

In this excerpt the frame has changed. "What I had always done" is now balanced with "what I should do to make life better." She is "chicken-hearted" and her conscience bothers her when she does make a move. "But," she says, "one can't please all the people all of the time." She recognizes the need for going slowly, but the changes she has made have been "for the better" and she thinks they will lead to more changes in the future. In other words, she is accepting herself as inexperienced, timid, and chicken-hearted and she is recognizing the difficulty of the problem. But this newer conception of herself plus her successful experience in making changes has given her a feeling of a new adequacy in dealing with her problem.

[18] Cantor, *op. cit.*, pp. 262–63.

Similarly, with the mathematics teacher, two factors may have given him a feeling of a new adequacy. First, the reduction of the problem to one that occurred only in a specific type of situation made it appear easier to solve. Second, the acceptance of Tommy's insecurity as "the cause" brought about by a divorce in the family removed the threat to the teacher's conception of himself as a "good" teacher. With the problem thus "simplified," and the threat to his self-esteem lifted, the teacher experienced a feeling of a new adequacy in dealing with the situation.

4. *The Testing of Reality*

In the preceding section, it was stated that whenever an individual is permitted to define his problem in an atmosphere of approval and his attention is skillfully focused on the material which he himself has presented, insight tends to develop. This insight, according to Rogers, developed along three main lines: (1) an altering concept of self, (2) newer perceptions of the problem in an altering frame of reference, and (3) a feeling of a new adequacy based on the newer concept of self and the changed perception of the problem.

The next step in the process is the testing out "in reality" of the new perceptions. In this testing of reality, there are three main phases, (1) the test itself, (2) the emergence of evaluative feelings, and (3) the return to the re-educator for further clarification of perception. These phases will be discussed in the following paragraphs.

The Test Itself

The feeling of a new adequacy tends to release the energy of the individual, for he now feels that it can be applied with good effect. He no longer feels blocked. The release of energy brings a new urge to test out the new insights, to test the new adequacy. However, the individual may still hesitate to act. Like the girl student in the illustration, he may see

what he should do to make life better, but on the other hand what he has always done may be "darn hard" to change.

Masserman has suggested five procedures which may be used in a conflict situation of this kind.

(1) "Diminution of the intensity of one of the conflictful drives."
(2) "Reassurance, persuasion, and suggestion."
(3) "Environmental press."
(4) "Social example."
(5) "Working through." [19]

To this list might be added:

(6) The psychodramatic or role-playing technique.

1. *"Diminution of the intensity of one of the conflictful drives."* To take the girl student again as an example, one reason for her wanting to cling to the past is that she will thereby retain her mother's approval. The new way means loss of that approval. If she were to feel that her mother approved or at least accepted her new way of living, one of the elements in her conflict situation would be diminished and the road before her made easier to attempt. In this way, her reluctance to act might be overcome.

Similarly, a school teacher might be encouraged to act if she knew that her mother, or the other teachers on the staff, or the principal or superintendent, or the board of education, or the community would approve or at least accept her attempts to try out new behavior in her real situation.

2. *"Reassurance, persuasion, and suggestion."* In the above procedure, there is an effort to lessen the severity of the conflict, making it easier for the individual to act. Reassurance, persuasion, and suggestion are more in the line of *strengthening* the individual to deal with the conflict.

Reassurance attempts to build up, by psychological means, the individual's feeling of adequacy, to build up his emotional strength. It also implies that the re-educator has faith

[19] Jules H. Masserman, *Behavior and Neurosis* (Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1943), pp. 203–04.

in the individual's ability to deal with the existing situation.

Persuasion aims to encourage the individual to try the new behavior by presenting all the points in favor of it. The qualities in the individual favorable to the success of the trial, the promising elements in the situation, and the desirability of the goal to be achieved are pointed out. The favorable elements are stressed and the unfavorable ones minimized.

Suggestion is an attempt to indicate to the individual what he is to do. The prestige of the re-educator is important here, as is the quality of rapport between the two. The re-educator outlines how the individual is to act in order to be successful.

With all three of these techniques, the re-educator is gambling on the success of the try-out of the behavior. If failure follows, there is a blow both to the prestige of the re-educator and to the self-esteem of the individual that may preclude further attempts. There is also the danger that the individual may become dependent upon the re-educator rather than more independent of him. For these reasons, the techniques should be used only by a skilled person.

3. *"Environmental press."* This procedure involves arranging the environment in such a way that the individual *has* to act; he *has* to deal with his problem. In this case, emotion rises in intensity but quickly subsides when the new behavior produces a solution.

A teacher who has convinced himself of the desirability of teacher-pupil planning but still hesitates to try it out may be helped to resolve his conflict by assignment to a core class or to a room where it is physically difficult to lecture to students. This procedure has the advantage of being impersonal and is therefore less of an ego-threat to the teacher, *provided,* of course, he has arrived at a desire to try new behavior. To use it arbitrarily before this has happened may lead to open hostility and rebellion. It is a "strong arm" method and therefore, if used at all, should be used with great care.

4. *"Social example."* This has been dealt with more fully on pages 23–26 under "Factors Influencing Motoric Action."

The purpose of the social example is to provide a model for the individual to copy. This was the function of the old "demonstration lesson." However, here the difference is that the individual *wants* to copy or at least see other behavior in action. The example is not presented as the way to behave. It is valuable to the extent that it provides clues to the kind of behavior that might prove more effective. Outright imitation is of course not desirable. The individual should have a clear understanding of *why* the behavior is effective and why it is being presented. For this reason it is better if the curriculum worker does not present himself as an example, for this tends to block a frank and free critical discussion of the model behavior. The individual is afraid to "hurt the feelings" of the curriculum worker by being critical of his behavior. If he submits himself to observation, as it may be necessary to do in some situations, the curriculum worker must try to create an atmosphere in which his behavior may be critically discussed without fear of involving his personal feelings. How successfully this can be done is a question. Nevertheless, if it must be done, it has the advantage of providing an opportunity for the curriculum worker to demonstrate that *his* behavior is not exempt from critical examination. To the extent that he can be objective about his own behavior, to that extent can he provide a "good example" to the individual.

5. *"Working through."* This procedure involves the whole process of re-education. A relationship is established which permits a full and free exploration of the problem. Certain insights develop, which the individual tests in the real situation; he then returns to the re-educator for help in clarifying and evaluating the test. New insights develop out of this discussion and these are tested, the individual again returning to the re-educator for clarification and evaluation. And so the process goes until the individual has become independent of the re-educator and no longer needs his support.

In this procedure, the re-educator makes no move whatso-

ever when the individual hesitates to test reality. The individual is left completely free to test or not to test as he chooses. But the re-educator is willing to work with him until he feels secure enough to "take the plunge" completely on his own.

This procedure is probably more desirable from the standpoint of democratic values than the ones previously mentioned. The re-educator does not try to make the test easier for the individual by diminishing the intensity of one of the elements of the conflict, nor does he push him into it by reassurance, persuasion, or suggestion. He does not rearrange the environment so that the individual will be forced into a test, nor does he provide a model for clues to more effective behavior. He does, however, counsel with the individual until the latter feels free to work through his problem. This involves facing the conflict in all its intensity, dealing with it without the artificial props of reassurance, persuasion, and suggestion, discovering for himself behavior that promises to be more effective in the situation, testing the behavior and evaluating its effectiveness. The re-educator is a sort of super-mirror that talks back to the individual, reflecting his thoughts so that the individual gets an increasingly clear picture of himself and his behavior.

This self-directive approach puts a heavy responsibility upon the curriculum worker. He is placed in the ambivalent position of accepting the individual's impulses *and* society's dictates. The psychotherapist is relatively free to identify with the individual and disassociate himself from social demands. The curriculum worker, however, as a school official, has assumed responsibility for carrying out certain social policies.

Can the curriculum worker hold his job if he uses this approach? How is he to deal with the pressures upon himself from his "boss" or the community or the students, or even the teachers themselves? It is true that in the main he will not be dealing with neurotic behavior, but will others accept this self-directive way of dealing with so-called "normal" be-

havior? The social expectancy of leadership behavior is that the leader knows "the answers," and it is assumed, therefore, that he will be directive, that he will pressure the individual by various means into getting things done. How is the curriculum worker to deal with this expectancy, and survive?

It was indicated in the section on "The Crucial Importance of Relationship Re-education" how this might be done. However, there is a personal element involved.

How the curriculum worker will solve the problems will largely depend upon his personal convictions and his skill in dealing with the pressures. The procedure imposes a severe discipline upon the individual who would try it and will continue to impose it until a greater understanding of human behavior penetrates more deeply into the social world.

6. *Psychodrama; "role-playing."* This procedure provides an opportunity to practice the new behavior in an "irreal" situation before attempting it in the real one. By an "irreal" situation is meant one real enough to be valid in terms of the life situation yet free of the dangers of punishment, failure, or other negative aspects that the life situation may have.

For example, a teacher who wants to initiate teacher-pupil planning in his class, but is reluctant to chance it, may be helped by having an opportunity to practice it with a small group of four or five other teachers playing the role of students. The curriculum worker may play variously the role of a student, the teacher himself, or the "director" of the proceedings. In the process of playing out the problem, the teacher's behavior may be analyzed, constructive suggestions made, and then his new behavior tested for effectiveness.

The group as a whole participates. Discussion is free. The other teachers may play the part of the teacher, and the teacher that of a student. Or the "director" may switch roles. In this way, the teacher does not feel that he alone is the "stupid" one—he feels that all involved are interested in seeking out more effective behavior.

One of the advantages of role-playing is that a group of

people learn, not just one individual. One of its disadvantages is that it runs into the traditional notion that teaching is a profoundly serious business of "molding the youth of the nation." Because role-playing involves "play-acting" it may be labeled "silly" or "nonsensical" before it has had a chance to demonstrate its real worth as an educational method. (For a fuller description of the technique of role-playing, see the Appendix, pp. 122–129.)

The foregoing, then, are six ways open to the curriculum worker as re-educator to help the individual resolve his conflict and test his new perceptions of reality. Attention will now be turned to the second phase of the testing of reality—the emergence of evaluative feelings following the test.

The Emergence of Evaluative Feelings

There are two factors in the process of "reality" testing. One is the overcoming of an obstacle which the individual is motivated to overcome, and the other is the positive values which he hopes to gain by overcoming the obstacle. The individual who is hungry does not say to himself, "I feel a tension in my stomach; if I eat, the tension will become reduced"; but he does say, "I'm hungry; if I eat, I will *feel better.*" The mere fact of overcoming the obstacle does not necessarily produce the positive value. After eating, for example, he might feel worse. Both factors must therefore be considered: overcoming the obstacle and evaluation of the act following its accomplishment.

The presence of these two factors makes possible a number of different outcomes in reality testing. Success may be described as a feeling that arises when an individual overcomes a barrier that *he wants to overcome* in order to achieve his ego-involved goals. Following this, it is possible for a person to be successful in overcoming a barrier without a resulting feeling of success. The barrier may be too "low" and so easy for him to overcome that he may experience no feeling of success. For example, if the curriculum worker had answered the

mathematics teacher's question, "Do you know this Tommy Filmore?" affirmatively and had then proceeded to explain about the divorce in the family and had gone on to outline methods of dealing with Tommy, the teacher would have had little feeling of success. He wanted to do *something* about Tommy. In the grip of his emotions, he could only think of "smacking him," but as *he* defined the problem, as *he* hunted up the records, as *he* discovered the divorce, he began to develop a feeling of success in dealing with his problem.

Similarly, failure may be described as a feeling that arises when an individual *fails* to overcome a barrier that *he wants to overcome* in order to achieve his ego-involved goals. Following this, too, it is possible for an individual to fail in overcoming a barrier without a resulting feeling of failure. The barrier in this case may be too "high" and therefore so difficult to hurdle that the individual may feel that "he never had a chance." For example, if the mathematics teacher in his visit to the guidance office had discovered instead of the divorce that Tommy had an I.Q. of 80, he could easily have come to the conclusion that Tommy should not have been placed in his class in the first place, that it was not possible to teach him algebra. He would have had no feeling of failure, for he would have felt that he didn't "have a chance" of teaching him successfully.

This analysis cannot be taken too literally. Human emotions are complex and difficult to channel into grooves. Furthermore, human behavior can seldom be evaluated in absolute terms as a "success" or as a "failure." It is the balancing of "goods" against "bads" that tilts the scale toward success or failure. The degree of success or failure is determined by the individual in terms of what *he wants* to achieve —in terms of his ego-involved values.

The Return to the Re-educator

Following the test and the emergence of the evaluative feelings, the individual frequently seeks out the re-educator. If

he has been successful on the whole, he may want to celebrate his success. If, on the other hand, he feels he has failed, he may return for more help or he may even quit in disgust. This latter course will depend on how the re-educator has approached the problem and how much help the individual feels he has received from him.

However, when and if he returns, the re-educator continues to play his role in the same manner as previously. He is objective, supportive, and accepting. He does not suddenly drop his role and say, "I knew it would come out all right," or "I was afraid that it would fail." He helps the individual to analyze his feelings and to organize them into a coherent shape that reveals the debits and credits. He helps him to find values for his feelings.

In some cases, the test may not come off quite as anticipated, or it may be successful in some situations but not in others. In the former event, the re-educator may help the individual to analyze why it worked and why it didn't, so that he will know better how to behave the next time. In the latter case, the situations where it worked and where it failed may be analyzed for clues to the success or failure. In other words, the re-educator may help the individual to *generalize* and to *discriminate* his experience so that his perception is clarified in dealing with the next test.

And so the process goes on. Following each test, the individual returns to the re-educator. The results of the test are fully discussed, and an effort is made to build up a series of successful experiences until the individual feels that he no longer needs support and can operate successfully on his own.

SUMMARY

Re-education is a cooperative learning experience for two people who establish a controlled relationship so that one may give support to the other in re-growing. It is compatible with democratic values. Human relationships are learned in early family living and tend to be generalized to

other people in other settings. The most desirable type of human relationship appears to be the "equipodal," in which individuals are "dependable" enough to play ascendant or subordinate roles interchangeably. When an adult fails to achieve this dependability and tends to treat others as "parents" or "siblings," a re-educator is needed who will help the adult in learning to differentiate between his parents and siblings and other adults. In this procedure the re-educator accepts the individual emotionally as an essentially worthy person, but helps him to become more objective about himself and to discover more appropriate and effective ways of behaving.

The older approach to education tended to foster dependence on authority, whereas the modern approach calls for self-decision and independent thinking. Re-education is pertinent to curriculum development if teachers are to be helped to become less dependent upon authority and more self-sufficient.

In order to get at his problems, the individual must feel free to express himself about them in an atmosphere of approval with the help of the re-educator. As the emotions are thrown off and are accepted, insight tends to develop concerning the self and the problem, and as a result a feeling of new adequacy tends to develop. The next step is to test the adequacy of the new perceptions "in reality." The individual may be encouraged to do this through a number of procedures, varying in desirability. Following the test, evaluative feelings tend to emerge and there is frequently a desire to return to the re-educator. Here the perceptions may again be clarified. And so the process goes on.

CHAPTER THREE

The Re-educative Process in the Group Setting

JUST AS the traditional approach to education tended to attract and encourage as teachers the kind of personalities who were dependent on authority, so it also tended to attract and develop dominative personalities in positions of leadership. During the period when the teacher was required to have little professional training it was probably necessary for the superintendent or principal or supervisor to dictate what was to be taught and how it was to be taught. This situation made it possible for these status leaders to exert considerable personal authority in their dealings with teachers, and therefore attracted to some extent power-loving personalities to status positions. If they did not seek power originally they soon came to it, for the situation made them insecure and created a need to reach for power. As Elsbree says:

> Boards of education expected the administrative staff to attend to administration, to propose policies, and to "govern" the schools as they would any other business enterprise. The tenure of superintendents of schools was always uncertain and in most instances brief. If he succeeded in pleasing the teachers, he probably antagonized the board of education; if he satisfied the board, he aroused the enmity of the teachers. In either case he lost out eventually, because the support of both groups was necessary. There were numerous exceptions to this rule, *the personality of the executive head being the determining factor in some situations.*[1]

[1] Willard S. Elsbree, *The American Teacher: Evolution of a Profession in a Democracy* (New York, American Book Company, 1939), pp. 544–45. Italics added.

Today, however, the situation in most schools has changed. Teachers are professionally trained, and the curriculum has become so complex that no one man can dictate it. No superintendent or principal can be an authority on social studies, art, shorthand, printing, cooking, and French. These and similar areas have become highly specialized and the teachers have been especially trained to teach them. For this reason, the "boss-assistant" type of relationship is no longer workable, yet many school executives, responding to the expectancy of the board of education and the community, drive themselves to maintain this relationship. Failing to recognize the impossibility of the situation in that direction, and accepting the dictum of the board and the community, they push themselves and the teachers to maintain their superiority as "boss" and the teacher's inferiority as "assistant." They strive, in effect, to become "supermen." [2]

The growth in professional training of teachers and the increasing complexity of the curriculum make necessary a new approach to working relationships in the school that is founded on a "co-worker" basis. This basis recognizes that the entire staff is composed of individuals with *differing* abilities and training rather than a *gradation* of abilities and training ranging from inferior to superior. It recognizes that the administrator may be an excellent administrator but a poor teacher of French or an unskilled guidance worker. Or that the teacher may be an excellent teacher even though he may not be adept in setting up a budget or ordering supplies. It implies that teachers "should have a voice in matters which

[2] Corey writes: "Altogether apart from any sentimental notions about democracy, the chief difficulty when teachers are told what to do is that the directions cannot ever be sufficiently explicit because teaching by its very nature requires much individual initiative and resourcefulness. A second difficulty is that the followers of directions are chronically unable to accept personal responsibility for the success of the activity. A third difficulty is that people who are constantly following administrative directives lose something as persons. They tend to act like cogs in a machine or automatons on an assembly line—to become things rather than people." Stephen M. Corey, "The Importance of People—Teachers ARE People," *Educational Leadership*, 1 (May, 1944), pp. 491–93.

concern the curriculum, teaching load, salaries, operation of buildings, supervision, textbooks, and supplies—in fact, in all matters in which their work is affected and in which their judgments may contribute to the development of a more adequate program of education." [3]

The main job of the superintendent or principal, then, is to coordinate the work of the various "technicians" so that the goals of the school will be accomplished. To this end a "central council" permits the active participation of the school personnel in the formulation of school policies. When all those concerned have had a hand in shaping policies, they can then be legitimately held responsible for carrying them out. Furthermore, not only will more realistic policies result, for difficulties of execution can be ironed out in advance, but they will be implemented with greater understanding.

A central council can be used to deal with the situation so that there is greater security for the status leader. However, it does not solve the problem. There is still the problem of "personality" to be considered. Dominative personalities do not like to give up power. They do not recognize their inner emotional need that causes them to seek power. They only know that it makes them "feel good" to exercise power. They literally *enjoy* power.

In the same sense, they also enjoy symbols of power. Their need for power is so great they strive to conform to the expectations of their superiors who have power to give. They strive to be the "supermen" the board and the community expect them to be. Evaluation of their progress, therefore, lies outside themselves. Their only measure of progress is the size, number, and quality of the power-symbols which they are granted. When doubts assail them, when situations arise which lead them to suspect that they may not measure up to the expectation of the board or the community, or, in other words, when the situation is psychologically right for the beginning of a new and more realistic appraisal of themselves

[3] Elsbree, *op. cit.*, p. 546.

and the expectation of others, they turn to the power-symbols for reassurance and the opportunity to face themselves is lost.

However, there can never be enough power to exercise nor enough symbols to reassure. Because of the school development which has rendered the "boss-assistant" type of relationship unworkable, situations continuously arise which challenge that type of relationship and create more insecurity. Dominative personalities cannot admit even to themselves the fact of their insecurity and so cannot admit it to others and get help with the problem. They therefore hastily cover it up by seeking more power and more symbols of power to reassure themselves.

And so the "vicious circle" goes on only to be broken when the dominative personality comes face-to-face with a situation that cannot be resolved by resort to more power or more power-symbols. However, these situations of finality seldom arise, for the culture tends to reward those who accept its expectations and to push them on to positions of greater power. Furthermore, any attempts from the outside to remove their power or symbols of power will be strongly resisted, for the attempt strikes directly at the roots of their personality structures.

For the dominative personality to accept the reality of the "co-worker" type of relationship in his school and operate on that basis means that he must first accept the fact of his insecurity and face himself as he really is. He must also see the impossibility of the "superman" expectation of the board and the community. Facing these two realities, he can work rationally to resolve the situation, by winning the acceptance of a "central council." However, this is asking a great deal of a person so long as the culture rewards him for his dominance as an individual.

From the foregoing it can be seen that the authoritarian leader cannot be enthusiastic about a program of in-service education and curriculum development except in so far as that program *strengthens* his control of the situation. He is afraid

of letting a program get under way which may weaken his personal authority. He is frightened by a procedure that may close the gap between himself and the teachers, for the existence of that gap is necessary for the maintenance of his "superiority." A program designed to help teachers to grow is therefore viewed as a threat. If it is accepted, it is held within rigid limitations in order that he may maintain control over it and not let it get "out of hand," specifically *his* hand. By keeping control he maintains the gap, so that if teachers grow he is pushed higher in prestige and power.

In summary, then, the personality of the person who would initiate a program of curriculum development is of crucial importance in the re-educative process. No individual can presume to be a re-educator until he has accepted himself and the school situation realistically. If he does so, there are ways open for him to resolve present conflicts. However, this does not mean that re-education is a royal road to happiness. It is not.

In order to clarify the application of the re-educative process to a group situation, let us take a hypothetical curriculum worker who is new to a school. In this way the problems that are likely to be encountered along the way can be taken one by one. The first step in such a procedure is to take a look at his personality.

THE CURRICULUM WORKER'S PERSONALITY

As indicated previously, the curriculum worker's personality is of importance in re-education. The process demands a secure personality, which this person has. He has a realistic grasp of his own abilities and has accepted himself as he is. He is therefore free to meet with others on the common ground of one human being meeting with other human beings. He does not require their submission to maintain his picture of himself as a superior person. Nor does he feel inferior if they prove to be superior to him. He accepts them as they are without worrying about who is su-

perior or inferior. In going into the school situation, he does not look to his status as a power tool to cause others to submit to him. He knows that other adults want to operate on as rational a basis as he does, and therefore in carrying out his responsibilities as a school officer he can approach them on this basis. In those few cases where he meets with an emotional reaction, he knows that he has been vested with authority to enforce rational demands as an immediate solution to problems, but he also knows that the long-term solution lies in the re-education of the individual.

The curriculum worker not only does not need to seek power for himself as a means of feeling superior, but he does not need the symbols of power to bolster a false perception of himself. He does not look to the size of his salary for reassurance of his ability, but as a necessary tool to support himself and his family. He does not need an imposing title, for he knows that he will have to win his leadership of the group. He does not look to his office—its size or furnishings—to bolster his ego. He wants and needs a reasonably comfortable and adequate place in which to work.

In his private life, he does not need a "showy" house in one of the better sections of town. He is not concerned with the expensiveness of the car he drives, so long as it provides comfortable transportation. He does not pride himself on the number and quality of the suits he owns so long as he is neatly and attractively dressed.

In going to the school, he does not look forward to doing "big things" but is interested in quiet, unspectacular growth on the part of himself and the staff. He is not going to seek "publicity" but is going to work hard to improve school–community cooperation. He is not going to defend the school or himself to the parents but is going to invite them to help in solving the problems that confront the school.

In short, he has faith in himself, in others, and in rational methods as a way of solving problems, and he is therefore emotionally free to re-educate.

His first move, of course, will be to establish a relationship with the group with which he is going to live and work.

ESTABLISHING A RELATIONSHIP

This relationship must be established at four levels: (*a*) at the individual level, (*b*) at the work level, (*c*) at the leadership level, and (*d*) as a "stranger" in the community. These will be discussed in turn.

Establishing an Individual Relationship

Much has been said about this point in an earlier chapter, so only a few words are necessary here. The curriculum worker should assume the initiative in establishing an individual relationship with each person on the staff. This is the foundation for his later acceptance, if he wins it, as a group leader. He should make an effort to know each person by name, the position he holds, and something about the individual's personality. He may indicate his desire to help the teacher with his problems, and his readiness to consider the teacher's suggestions for the improvement of instruction. In brief, he tries to outline a two-way system of communication that he hopes will come to exist between them, and underlines his desire to be of service.

The curriculum worker's purpose in stressing the service aspect of the relationship is to start the process of focusing on problems of concern to the teacher and of structuring his role as a cooperating agent in the solution of those problems. Conversely, this approach also starts the process of de-emphasizing himself as a source of problems: as one who has a lot of ideas in the "back of his head" that he hopes to implement and that will require the teacher's "cooperation." In brief, he reassures the teacher about himself as a threat.

In the first few face-to-face contacts the curriculum worker cannot, of course, convince the teacher that he is not a threat. However, the impression gained by the teacher in the begin-

ning should be that he is an easy person to talk to and that he seems to be "all right."

Establishing a Work Relationship

A working group consists of a network of interpersonal relationships which has developed in the handling of the work load. The individuals within the group apply their abilities to the job to be done. What one cannot do another does, and as the work progresses the abilities of each come into play. In time, the group operates as a team in which each person has learned to "play his position" in relation to the others.

When a member of the team drops out, a "hole" is left in the network. The group worries about who they will get to take his place. If the ex-member had unusual abilities and was liked by the team, his loss will be mourned. If, on the other hand, he was of little help his loss will be quietly welcomed.

The replacement steps into an interesting psychological situation. He is going to be watched carefully by the group to see how well he fills the "hole." What share of the work load will he carry? Will they have to carry some of the work for him or will he carry a larger share than his predecessor? The answer to these and similar questions will be sought before he is accepted by the group.

It is, therefore, the business of the incoming curriculum worker to demonstrate that he is going to carry his share of the work load; that he is not going to "sit in his office and figure out more work for the staff to do"; that he does "belong."

The opening of the school will give him his opportunity. There will be many jobs to do in getting the program under way. In approaching the tasks there are three impressions that the curriculum worker wants to make. First, he wants to emphasize the idea that it does not matter who does the work; the job must be done. The "cause" is greater than

any individual, himself included. Second, he wants to demonstrate that he does not consider himself exempt because of his status, that he is "no better than anybody else" when it comes to the "lousy jobs." His status only indicates that in normal times his is a *different* function. If he does not do this, he may find others seeking technicalities upon which to base their nonparticipation. Finally, he wants to demonstrate that he is a real help to the staff, that he is able to perform services that will contribute to their well-being.

Establishing a Leadership Relationship

While he is working to win the acceptance of the group as a participating member, the curriculum worker is also endeavoring to establish his right to the title of leader. Not only must he demonstrate his willingness and ability to work *with* the group, he must work to win their acceptance as a leader—to become a leader in fact as well as in title. The first stage in this process is to run the gauntlet of their suspicion and hostility, that is, pass the test which the group will more or less unconsciously administer.

Everyone has a "vested interest" in continuing to behave as he is behaving. The advent of a new status leader, such as the curriculum worker, who by virtue of the authority vested in him has a certain amount of control over behavior may therefore be an automatic threat to the group. The group may be concerned with what kind of person he is. What changes in their behavior is he likely to demand? Will he try to force them to change against their will? His coming may cause them to be uneasy and anxious to know the answers to the questions. Until these questions are answered there may be a condition of insecurity which gives rise to emotions, to fears that the newcomer has ideas of future changes for them in the "back of his head" and that those changes will not be acceptable to them, fears that they will be enmeshed in a situation in which they will have to change their behavior against their will. They may, therefore, test out their fears by

treating the leader as though he were actually planning to carry out these unwelcome changes, and in anticipation of the confirmation of their fears they may gird themselves for the blow. The fears may be expressed with varying degrees of hostility, depending upon the degree of security of the individuals who express them.

Allport, following a personal experience, analyzed four ways in which this expression of hostility might manifest itself. They were (1) "as a means of testing the newcomer," (2) "as a means of avoiding threat to personal status," (3) "as guilt projection," and (4) "as a complacency shock." [4] These will be discussed in turn.

1. *Expressions of hostility "as a means of testing the newcomer (instructor)."* When the motives of the newcomer are in question, the group may suspect him of presuming to have in mind changes that will be unwelcome to them but that they will have to accept against their will. The presence of these motives would be manifested in an attitude of superiority on the part of the leader. The group cannot ask the leader point blank what his motives are, but they can watch and test for clues to his attitude. They may be particularly on guard if they are not convinced of their own competence.

In the school situation, expression of hostility, if it occurs, may range all the way from a member of the staff bouncing into the curriculum worker's office and telling him in no uncertain terms how he has felt about the school system since 1920, to the apparently innocent asking of the question, "Say, by the way, how do you want me to handle this?" It may, however, come out in the form of the statement, "I don't know how you want me to handle this but (with a tightening of the lips) I have always handled it in such-and-such a manner."

With the explosive kind of hostility, the curriculum worker can only listen and accept the feelings of the individual

[4] Gordon W. Allport, "Catharsis and the Reduction of Prejudice," *Journal of Social Issues*, 1 (August, 1945), pp. 5–6.

without comment other than the usual variations of "I understand how you feel." With the more direct question of how to handle a certain matter, he would be wiser to ask the teacher to explain, or explain further, how he has handled it in the past, and then, if there is no conflict with school policy, suggest that he continue to handle it in that manner. If it is in conflict with school policy, he might suggest tentatively that he *believes* it to be in conflict with policy. The tentativeness is necessary, for people do not like newcomers to recite to them what they as veterans of the institution presumably should know. If the method of dealing with the matter is not acceptable to the curriculum worker personally, he should postpone voicing his objection to a later date when his relationship is more firmly established and the matter can be examined on a "we" basis. In any event, in dealing with this kind of hostility the curriculum worker should be wary of voicing his personal opinions, for these will be immediately construed as indicating a feeling of superiority on his part.

At other times, the newcomer may be tested by hostile comments directed at his ego. Frequently general in nature, these nevertheless are aimed at him. The curriculum worker may hear scornful comments about "these educational theorists" or "people with a lot of degrees" or "all these impractical modern ideas." These barbs are loosed to test the emotional reactions of the curriculum worker, to test his ego-involved values, as it were, and they should be treated as such by unemotional acceptance of them or by good-natured acknowledgments. Counteraggression against the group will only cause him to fail the test and lose the battle.

Still other comments may be aimed more directly at his person. His physical stature, his bulk or lack of it, the amount of hair on his head, his clothes, his mannerisms (or idiosyncrasies) may be subjected to comment. The fact that they are made indicates that the curriculum worker is passing the

test, for the group would not risk such personal comments if they did not feel sufficiently assured that they would be accepted. Nevertheless, the test is to make sure that the curriculum worker can "take it"; that he has no feeling of superiority to the group.

It was stated previously that the curriculum worker should be wary of introducing his personal ideas and that he should not counteraggress against the group. There is a good reason for this. The group tests out the leader for feelings of superiority to discover clues to his intentions in dealing with them. These basic fears are not so much caused by the changes in the situation that he may wish to make, for some changes might be advantageous to them. Their *real* fear is that they will be pushed into making changes over which they have no say and no control. Back of all of this testing is the question, "Will the curriculum worker permit us to express *our* ideas?" For this reason, the introduction of the leader's personal ideas or counteraggression against the group for comments about his person should be omitted by the leader until the group reassures themselves that they will be permitted to express themselves adequately. The group wants to know if they are going to have a chance to express their point of view, but before they "stick their necks out" they must first find out if it is safe to do so. The introduction of personal ideas or counteraggression tends to make that expression unsafe. The leader can facilitate the dissipation of this fear by making every effort to learn their point of view and in this way desensitize the group to himself as an automatic threat. If the curriculum worker does not do so, he may learn their point of view later to his regret at, say, a mass meeting. When he has demonstrated to the group that he is willing to listen to their ideas, they may in turn be willing to listen to his.

In summary, the group may test out the curriculum worker for a feeling of superiority on his part. The test will take the form of expressions of hostility directed at his ideas, his ego-involved values, or his person. He can facilitate this test by

not introducing his personal ideas, by not counteraggressing, and by making every effort to learn the group's point of view. If he does this he may hasten his acceptance by the group as a status leader and the opportunity when he can present his own ideas for rational examination. The curriculum worker should guide himself accordingly.

It should be noted that winning acceptance as a status leader is not quite the same thing as winning acceptance as the *real* leader of the group. The group will accept the curriculum worker as status leader so long as he does not show signs of *feeling* superior. They will tolerate him, so to speak. The larger job of winning acceptance as a real leader depends upon his ability to help the group achieve their purposes.

Groups demand superiority of their leaders but they resent *feelings* of superiority. They will follow an authoritarian leader so long as the course of action he persuades them to accept helps them to achieve their purposes. The democratic leader helps the group to decide the course of action and helps them to carry it out. In both cases, however, the superiority which the group demands of the leader is determined by the effectiveness with which he is able to help them to achieve their goals.

2. *"Expressions of hostility as a means of avoiding threat to personal status."* Not only may the personality of the newcomer be tested out but the dignity of the group may be upheld. The expressions are put forth in a vigorous manner, are hostile in tone, and are stated as though the newcomer did not believe them. Their purpose is to test his opinion of the group. In schools, the expressions may be of three kinds: (*a*) "ego-building," (*b*) "testimonial-bearing," and (*c*) "the revelation of old wounds."

With the "ego-building" variety, the group member lets the curriculum worker know that he is an unusually competent teacher. He may dwell on his pre-service training, explaining what a fine institution he attended and the excellent professors it had, and he may indicate that he was held in pretty

high repute by all concerned. Or his present work may be the subject of his confidence. He may show or relate letters from former students who went to college or into the services and wrote how grateful they were for what the teacher had done for them. Favorable comments of the parents or of former principals or, more specifically, of the curriculum worker's predecessor may be retold. The high marks or scholarships won by "one of my students" may be offered. In fact, anything that will bring about the impression on the curriculum worker's part that the teacher is outstanding is presented.

"Testimonial-bearing" is an attempt to establish in the mind of the curriculum worker a favorable impression of the school as a whole, with particular emphasis on the competence of the staff. The school's rating by the accrediting agencies may be upheld; its record with the College Board examinations, what former students now in other schools have said and how they "wish they were back," and its pre-eminent position with regard to other schools in the vicinity may be dwelt upon. Any kind of testimonial that endorses the high standing of the school and the competence of the staff is borne to the curriculum worker's ears.

Finally, if the curriculum worker so much as murmurs some slight suggestion for improvement in the future, a "revelation of old wounds" may ensue. A suggestion for improvement is automatically a criticism of the present and brings forth a defensive reaction. "I tried that back in 1936," it is stated vehemently, "and I was told, etc., etc." Then follows a recital of the entire episode. Sometimes the curriculum worker may be greeted with a tolerant "you just don't understand" smile and set straight on the facts of life in that school. At other times, the incident may not have happened to the person who tells the story but to another who was "here before you came." Perhaps the staff as a whole had an altercation with the board or the superintendent which is revived with all its details.

In summary, the suggestion for improvement frequently

causes old issues to be rehashed for the benefit of the curriculum worker, including all the I-should-have-said's and the we-should-have-done's. The newcomer can only listen, indicate his understanding and appreciation, and withhold his own comments until the group reassures itself that its point of view and its competence are accepted. He may test the group occasionally by dropping a suggestion for improvement but letting it go if it draws a defensive reaction. With "ego-building" and "testimonial-bearing" he may only indicate his understanding and appreciation.

3. *"Expressions of hostility as guilt projection."* Sometimes the curriculum worker may hear comments to the effect that "there is no problem in this school." The problem lies elsewhere in the elementary schools, in the junior high, or in the senior high, or with the administration. Any place, in fact, other than the immediate one. "They ought to take the spotlight off this school and put it where it belongs," is sometimes heard.

The group knows that there are problems in the school but to admit it would implicate themselves. In order to maintain its self-esteem the group denies that there is anything wrong with it but places the blame onto others. The group says in effect, "There is no problem here, but if there is (which there isn't) it's not our fault and even if it is our fault, we're not as bad as some others."

The purpose of this expression is to throw the curriculum worker off the track, and if that is not possible, to soften the blow to the group's self-esteem, for he will have to admit that there are problems elsewhere and they as individuals are no worse than others. The curriculum worker can only wait until the group works through this process and gets around to admitting that there *may* be a problem of perhaps minor significance which they have overlooked but which might be worth looking into briefly. He cannot move ahead until this point is reached; he can only accept the feelings of the group as stated and wait for the thinking to take a positive turn.

4. *"Expressions of hostility as 'complacency shock'."* In testing the leader, in avoiding threat to personal status, or in projecting the blame elsewhere, an individual or a number of individuals may shock themselves or the group by the intensity of their hostility, the wildness of their statements, or the personal nature of their remarks. They may frighten themselves or the other members of the group by the force of their statements, causing a desire on the part of some to withdraw from the group before things go too far. Or their statements may be so far out of line with the realities of the situation that they may shock themselves or the group into an awareness of the disparity and a desire may set in to correct the statements. Or perhaps the personal nature of their remarks may shock them or the group into an awareness of the fact that they are taking unfair advantage of the leader's position.

If this happens to the curriculum worker, he does not retaliate. Knowing that the process of winning acceptance by the group involves his acting as a "target for aggression," he realizes that it is better not to defend himself against the hostility or the personal remarks. It is better that he let the group defend him, for it will be a step in the direction of developing a feeling of "groupness" among them. Furthermore, he does not point out the ridiculousness of the statements. The group will make the necessary corrections—another step in the development of a group feeling. His retaliation will only be viewed as interference and will tend to keep him outside the group; whereas if the group takes care of the matter there will be a tendency to include him in the group as they come to his rescue.

It should be pointed out that "complacency shock" as a result of the expression of hostility does not occur often in group situations. Usually the road to rationality is reached only through some sort of process of satiation. When the group has satisfied itself that the leader is not a threat, the testing subsides. It is rare that hostility becomes so intense,

the statements so ridiculous, or the comments so personal that the group is shocked.

Summary. Everyone has a vested interest in continuing to behave as he is behaving. The advent of a new leader may therefore be viewed as a threat to that behavior. In order to discover the leader's attitude, he may be tested by means of expressions of hostility. These may be used to test the newcomer's personality or his opinion of the competence of the group, or to throw him off the track by placing "the blame" elsewhere. Occasionally, the expression may lead to self-shocking. The curriculum worker who is a new leader should be prepared for this conduct on the part of the group if it should appear.

Establishing a Relationship as a "Stranger" in the Community

Having explored to some extent the problem of establishing a leader relationship in its initial phase, the next step is to analyze the problem of establishing a relationship as a "stranger" in the community. As stated previously, this does not operate apart from the other considerations of establishing an individual, a work, and a leader relationship. They are all components of a process, but are artificially separated here for purposes of clarity.

The stranger may be defined as an individual who is in the group but not of it. Simmel describes him as a potential wanderer, one who may leave the group at any time. He has made contact with the group for the first time but how long he will stay or whether or not the group will completely accept him is a question.[5] The major characteristics of the relationship of the stranger, as presented by Simmel, are *mobility, objectivity, confidence, freedom from convention* and *abstract relations.*[6]

[5] The reader is referred to the study by Margaret M. Wood, *The Stranger: A Study in Social Relationships* (New York, Columbia University Press, 1934).

[6] Quoted in Robert E. Park and Ernest W. Burgess, *Introduction to the Science of Sociology* (Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1924), pp. 322–27.

The individual who plays the role of the stranger has both an opportunity and a responsibility. Park and Burgess state:

> From the earliest dawn of history we may observe how communities developed in special directions, no less in important than in insignificant things, because of influences from without. Be it religion or technical inventions, good form in conduct or fashions in dress, political revolutions or stock-exchange machinery, the impetus always—or, at least, in many cases—came from strangers.[7]

The curriculum worker who is a "stranger" can help a community to "develop in special directions" if he understands his role. He has an advantage, but he also has a responsibility both to the community and to his profession.

The *mobility* of the curriculum worker is an advantage in that he is not permanently committed to stay in the community. He can therefore be more courageous in helping the community to grow. He can risk a certain amount of hostility and criticism inevitable in the growth process without suffering permanently; this the native cannot do. While the stranger has this advantage, he also has a responsibility to the community and to his profession from which his mobility does not exempt him. He cannot exploit the community for his own private gain or for the testing out of his personal ideas. To do so hurts the community and hurts his profession. Because he comes from the outside, he may have a clearer picture of the needs of the community and can therefore take the *initiative* in meeting these needs, but he also has the responsibility to proceed democratically and not presume to correct them on his own. He is not uniquely gifted to see needs; if they are helped to do so, the people of the community can also see these needs if they exist in reality. The mobility of the curriculum worker should therefore be used for constructive rather than exploitative purposes.

The mobility of the curriculum worker, as indicated above, gives him a more objective outlook because he is not rooted

[7] *Ibid.*, p. 317.

in the attitudes and biases peculiar to the community. In this regard, he has an advantage, but it does not mean that he can be ruthlessly indifferent to the impression that he makes on the natives as, for example, a visitor can be. On the other hand, he does not have to be as overzealous of the impression he makes. He can be objective because he does not have to bow to the local attitudes and biases as a condition of permanent acceptance. Furthermore, he will be well advised to maintain the objectivity by keeping criticisms to himself. There are better ways of dealing with local attitudes and biases than by making a personal attack. In short, he can *respect* those biases and prejudices without accepting them for himself and he can work for their enlightenment.

The *confidence* that is placed in the stranger has two phases. One phase is the revelation of secrets. Because he comes from the outside and is presumed to be unbiased, he may be the recipient of confidences that the native cannot discuss with his associates. The teller, of course, realizes that the stranger does not know the persons involved and therefore "it cannot get back" to them and cause him embarrassment.

Another phase of the confidence in the stranger is the attempt to "set him straight" about certain groups or individuals in town. This may be a sincere attempt to protect the stranger from pitfalls. It may also be an attempt to win the newcomer to a side before the others have a chance to do so.

This confidence in the stranger gives him a peculiar advantage in that he comes to know quickly a good deal about the individuals in the community and he may come to enjoy the confidence of all factions. In this way, he may become an arbiter who brings about harmony among warring factions. However, to do so, he has the responsibility of being discreet and of not disclosing the secrets of one group to another.

Freedom from convention or lack of it has been a much-talked-about issue in education. The stranger who is a visitor can afford to flout local conventions, for he does not have to stay to take the disapproval that follows. However, if

the stranger enters the group with the intention of becoming part of it he cannot afford to disregard its convention. The curriculum worker is in this latter position. He has the advantage of being free of the customs in the sense that he does not have to accept their validity. However, if he wishes to remain among the people, he will find it necessary to *observe* their conventions. This is a different issue than the attempt of people to enforce *special* taboos upon educational workers. These, of course, can be resisted, but on the other hand it does not mean that educational workers are *exempt* from local convention. The curriculum worker will have to work out a balance between the observation of local custom in line with his professional responsibility and his personal liberty in following his own code.

The matter of *abstract relations* is a complex one. If the only single common attribute between the curriculum worker and the community members is that they are all human beings, it may be difficult for them to accept him. However, if he is too closely similar to them, there may be little progress in his work. A balance between the two extremes is needed. That is, the curriculum worker's attributes are sufficiently similar that the group can accept him as a person and yet sufficiently dissimilar that a distinction can be made between his views and theirs. Through an integration of the two progress is made.

To sum up, there are certain advantages inherent in the role of the stranger which can be utilized for constructive purposes and progress in the community. However, there are responsibilities in playing the role which the curriculum worker must respect. He should understand these advantages and responsibilities and act accordingly in establishing his relationship as a stranger in the community.

THE ENCOURAGEMENT OF FREE EXPRESSION

The hypothetical curriculum worker who was chosen to serve as a model for this discussion will have not

only the problem of establishing a relationship in his new situation but also the problem of encouraging free expression. This was discussed in Chapter Two in connection with meetings involving only two people. Many of the principles outlined there would, of course, be valid for group meetings. To make sure that the importance of this aspect of the re-educative process does not suffer loss, the main points will be outlined again but in somewhat different form.

Basic Procedures

Baruch has given a detailed report of a mental hygiene training program for both pre-service and in-service teachers. She found four main procedures helpful in encouraging expression: (1) the maintenance of informality; (2) helping people to develop a sense of freedom to express themselves; (3) the maintenance of continuous acceptance; and (4) protection of individual status.[8]

The maintenance of informality. Baruch found the following items to be useful: (*a*) "The elimination of ritual, such as calling the roll, and raising hands before speaking." (*b*) "The use of given names." (*c*) "Encouragement to talk without being called upon and to share thoughts with the group rather than whispering on the side." In addition, attendance at meetings should be voluntary, there should be an absence of status-symbols (the best chairs and places at the head of the table should not be automatically taken by status leaders), and if possible refreshments should be served.

Helping to develop a sense of freedom of expression. To achieve this Baruch encouraged the group to (*a*) "recount their own experiences"; (*b*) "identify with events and problems cited"; (*c*) "express themselves further when the expression of feelings which are ordinarily not spoken of slipped naturally into the context of discussion"; (*d*) "accept the commonness and naturalness of feelings expressed."

[8] Dorothy W. Baruch, "Procedures in Training Teachers to Prevent and Reduce Mental Hygiene Problems," *Pedagogical Seminary and Journal of Genetic Psychology*, 67 (December, 1945), pp. 153–54.

While their orientation is toward the emotional problems of the individuals in the group, these items could easily be applied with only slight changes in wording to almost any group meeting. For example, group members should be helped to develop a sense of: (*a*) Freedom to reveal their problems and difficulties. (*b*) Freedom to identify themselves with events and problems cited. (*c*) Freedom to express feelings which are not ordinarily expressed in open meetings. (*d*) Freedom to accept the commonness and naturalness of feelings expressed.

The maintenance of continuous acceptance. Of the practices used by Baruch, three are pertinent here: (*a*) "a continuous, conscious effort to eliminate condemnation, moralizing and blame"; (*b*) "criticism, opposition and disagreements were welcomed, respected and taken into account"; (*c*) "immunity was guaranteed." Acceptance, like freedom of speech, is relatively easy to grant when everybody is saying "the right thing." But when condemnation, moralizing and blame enter the picture or when there is criticism, opposition, and disagreement, it is not easy to accept the people who are responsible.

These three practices are of utmost importance to the curriculum worker, for unless he is able to apply them successfully little *real* growth on the part of the school staff will result.

Protection of individual status. Again three of Baruch's practices are relevant: (*a*) "each person was accorded some essential responsibility within the group"; (*b*) "each had opportunity for some sort of contribution"; (*c*) "the fact was stressed that . . . liking rather than a loss in status results from a realization of people's problems."

In summary, to encourage free expression the curriculum worker should strive to develop a group atmosphere in which the teachers can be informal, spontaneous in expressing themselves, continuously accepted by each other, and protected against loss of status. He should try to get problems defined on

a human rather than an official plane, where a shirt-sleeved attack can be made upon them by people who are concerned with *what* is right rather than *who* is right.

Group Dynamics

As the curriculum worker succeeds in developing the group atmosphere, insights will tend to develop. New perceptions of self will be glimpsed, and new perceptions of the problem gained in an altering frame of reference. As insight grows, the problems will tend to come closer to their essential reality. Some problems will drop out of the discussion and others will be solved right within the walls of the school. But eventually there will be problems that the staff will realize cannot be solved with their present knowledge and ability.

While this development with regard to the problems is taking place, other developments of perhaps even greater significance will be taking place. The first of these will be *the emergence of a new in-group* within the staff. The old in-group in our hypothetical school was based on the approval of the administration. The hierarchy of relationships that existed within the group was established on the basis of the extent to which each individual enjoyed the approval of the administration. Each individual had his place in descending order in this hierarchy. With the coming of the new curriculum worker and the setting of the stage for the group to operate autonomously, the old hierarchy which depended upon administrative approval is cut off from its anchorage and there is opportunity for a new *group-established* hierarchy to emerge.

As the staff gradually comes to face its problems in an atmosphere that holds no threats, a "we-feeling" will begin to be felt among the members of the group. They will begin to feel themselves members of a group having certain values in common. As identification with the group grows there will be a tendency on the part of the individual to accept the values of the group even though in the beginning these may

have been at variance with his own. Lewin has formulated this in a hypothesis that *"an individual accepts new values as he accepts belongingness in the group."* [9]

Secondly, as the new hierarchy of interrelationships emerges individuals will find themselves playing new roles. For example, an individual who had formerly been placed far down on the scale as a "poor teacher" in the eyes of the administration will now find himself accepted by the new curriculum worker and the "good" teachers. As he is accepted and as he identifies with them, he will tend to accept a new role as "one of the 'good' teachers." As he identifies with this new role, he will tend to accept the values of the role.

This development may be put in the form of a hypothesis that *"an individual tends to accept new values as he accepts a new role."* [10]

As new values are accepted through the process of identifying with the group and a new role, there will be a tendency to support these values by seeking authority for them.

False perceptions of reality tend to persist despite the usual "educational" methods of citing authority in the form of statements by prestige persons, logical argument, or the results of scientific research. However, when individuals are permitted to discover new values for themselves, they tend to *seek* authority for them. In the case cited below, a picture can be seen of a young man who, in the process of accepting a new role and the group he is in, comes to accept an authority that he had never understood. He writes:

To thine own self be true and it must follow as the day the night, Thou canst not then be false to any man—*Shakespeare.*

I have always been the smiling-faced boy; smug, complacent and burdened with many pretensions. I have pulled the wool over my own eyes and I *think* I have pulled the wool over other peoples' eyes—but now's the time to let my hair down—you see,

[9] Kurt Lewin and Paul Grabbe, "Conduct, Knowledge, and Acceptance of New Values," *The Journal of Social Issues,* I (August, 1945), p. 62.

[10] *Ibid.,* p. 64.

for the past few months I have sat around a table with other students and a *director* and through a process that words are futile to describe, I have gotten the courage to be true to myself and to any man. It's a funny thing! I have read these Shakespearean words a hundred and one times and never understood them. As I read the quotation now, the words seem to vibrate and come to life.[11]

The tendency to seek authority for newly accepted values may be stated as a third hypothesis: *"As individuals accept new values through acceptance of a group and a new role, they tend to seek authority for the new values."* [12]

The acceptance of new values is not complete, however, until the individual tries to win acceptance of these values by others. The move from hostility to the new values to a state of self-acceptance, but "open-mindedness" with regard to the values others hold, is not sufficient. The process has not been consummated until there is *loyalty* to the new values which is expressed through attempts to win their acceptance by others. There is an old saying that "a person does not know anything until he tries to teach it." This might be paraphrased as a fourth hypothesis that *"new values have not been fully accepted until a person tries to gain their acceptance by others."*

However, while the new values cannot be said to be fully accepted until the individual makes attempts to proselytize, it is important at this point that an awareness be gained of the process by which the new values were achieved. The individual who has been newly "converted" has a tendency to rush off in holy zeal to bring the faith to unbelievers. So concerned is he with his own problem that he is unaware, in the midst of the change, of the process by which the change was brought about in himself. As the young man wrote, the process appears to be one that "words are futile to describe." He recognizes that there was a process but it is all a blur to

[11] Nathaniel Cantor, *Dynamics of Learning* (Buffalo, N.Y., Foster & Stewart Publishing Corporation, 1946), pp. 236–37.

[12] Lewin and Grabbe, *op. cit.*, p. 64.

him beyond the power of analysis. The chances are that he will soon bore his friends to death preaching to them the gospel, "To thine own self be true."

As a further step in the re-educative process, then, the individual should be given a clear understanding of the process by which he acquired his new values. In this way he too may become a "re-educator" and not another crusader foredoomed to resistance, hostility, and frustration that can lead only to abandonment of the new values or to an embittered struggle as a member of an out-group to force their acceptance by an in-group.

To sum up, as the curriculum worker abandons the "normal" gap that exists between himself and the teachers and sets the stage for the direct facing of problems in a permissive atmosphere where status differences are minimized, a new in-group will tend to emerge. The emergence of the new in-group will undermine the old hierarchy of interrelationships and a new hierarchy will begin to develop. As this change takes place, individuals within the group will find themselves playing new roles. As they accept the belongingness in the group and the new roles, they will tend to accept new values. However, the support of the group in playing the new role will not be sufficient to yield security. There will be a tendency to seek sources of authority to support the new values which the individual has come to accept. The process will not be complete until he endeavors to win acceptance of the new values by others. However, because there is a tendency to overlook the process by which the new values were gained, and to impose the new values directly upon others, it will be necessary to carry the process one step further. The individual must be helped to understand the dynamics of the process by which he reached his present position, lest he encounter hostility and resistance and be tempted to surrender the new values or become an embittered crusader.

With the emergence of the new group-feeling, an atmosphere of trust and confidence will develop. As the group tests

out the new curriculum worker and discovers that he is truly sincere in seeking objective truth and that the permissive atmosphere is not a subtle way of finding out who agrees with him and who does not, suspicions not only of the leader but of each other will tend to diminish. The group will begin to realize that the curriculum worker ignores attempts to "get in good" with him. They will begin to recognize also that some of their colleagues are not trying to "polish the apple" but are sincerely lining up with him in the search for truth. In short, their suspicion that there is going to emerge a new hierarchy of relationships based upon agreement with the new leader's "ideas" (values) will be gradually dissipated.

As the feeling of trust and confidence grows stronger, the emphasis will gradually shift from *"who* is right" to *"what* is right." This will make it possible to introduce open and rational methods of investigation to replace the former subtle forms of jockeying for the leader's approval. These may be introduced at first through attempts at solving small problems in the day-by-day conduct of the school; but as the efforts meet with success, as the level of aspiration is raised, and as the definitions of the problem get nearer to their essential reality, more organized attacks can be made on problems until the entire staff is engaged in appraising the total program of the school.

WAYS OF FOSTERING TEACHER GROWTH

In working through his relationship with the staff, the curriculum worker should place consistent and continuous emphasis upon the human and individual aspects of problems rather than upon their official and institutional aspects. If teachers are to accept children as children rather than as "pupils," they must first accept themselves as human beings rather than as "teachers"; and if teachers are to be helped to do this, the curriculum worker must lead the way by presenting himself as a human being and accepting teachers as such. In the light of this, it would seem that there are three major

provisions that the curriculum worker could make that would be particularly rewarding:

1. Provision of opportunities for teachers and status leaders to perceive one another as human beings rather than as "teachers" and "administrators."
2. Provision of opportunities for teachers to perceive children as children rather than as "pupils."
3. Provision of opportunities for fresh perceptions of the teaching role.

Many of the items which will be listed below under these heads have been in use in schools for years. However, where this is so, it is intended that there will be a distinct change in emphasis, atmosphere, and approach. The basic procedures outlined on pages 105–107 should be present in so far as is possible.

Provision of Opportunities for Teachers and Status Leaders to Perceive One Another as Human Beings

Staff meetings. Historically, faculty meetings have been called by the administration. They have had the following characteristics: The purpose of the meeting was to present before the entire staff problems of concern to the administration. Attendance was compulsory and rigidly enforced. Punctuality was demanded. The meeting started on time but frequently ended when the administration saw fit. There was little opportunity for teachers to voice their ideas other than as occasional comments or suggestions. The atmosphere was definitely that of a "business" meeting. Procedures were formal and protocol was observed.

The type of staff meeting proposed here has these contrasting characteristics: The purpose is to discuss problems of concern to both the teaching staff and the administration. Attendance is required but allowances are made for those legitimately engaged in professional activities elsewhere. A follow-up meeting the next morning is frequently held to acquaint them with developments. Time is provided for

refreshments and informal conversation. Meetings start on time but there is leeway for legitimate individual delays. The meeting is planned to provide opportunity for teacher discussion. Frequently, a portion of the time is devoted to a general session which is followed by discussion in small groups, usually divided according to grade level or subject field. A brief general session may end the meeting. The atmosphere is businesslike but relaxed. Procedures are informal and protocol is not evident.

Guidance council, curriculum council, administrative council, and lay advisory council meetings. The major difference between these meetings and the staff meetings is that they involve a smaller number of people. Each group is composed of elected representatives who work on specific problems. Members of the administrative staff frequently "chair" these meetings. Each group from time to time reports to the whole group or may even take over an entire staff meeting.

Departmental, committee, or "problem" meetings. Departmental meetings are held to deal with problems of instruction in a subject field. With large departments, such as the English department, the same procedure is used as is used in the staff meeting—general session, grade-level or small group discussion, general session. The curriculum worker usually "chairs" meetings of small departments, whereas with large departments a rotating committee may take charge.

Committee meetings may be either special groups appointed to investigate a specific problem or subcommittees of one of the councils. Members of the administrative staff usually do not participate except as consultants.

"Problem" meetings may be called by anybody for discussion of a problem with the specific people concerned.

Smoking room visits. Members of the administrative staff must definitely leave their status at the door when entering what is essentially the teachers' domain. They should not introduce official business into the discussion nor should they ever enter to "snoop." They should play their roles at all

times in the manner of an invited guest. If they will do so, they will be welcomed by the staff and they will not only have an opportunity to keep in touch with the opinions of the group but also be able to answer many questions informally.

Pre-school or in-school workshops. These are particularly valuable if (1) they are held away from the school building in such a place as a camp, (2) the members of the administrative staff enter into all the activities as equals, and (3) there are consultants from the "outside" to help both administrators and teachers to learn *together.*

Faculty and student parties, dances, plays, picnics, and games. Again, the status leaders have an opportunity to lay aside their official roles and "be themselves."

Home visits. Social calls between teachers and administrators were definitely taboo in the authoritarian conception. Such visits, it was felt, tended to break down authority of the administrator over the staff, circumvented official channels of communication, and led to favoritism. Such a result is inevitable, of course, if decisions are made on the top level alone and imposed upon those below. Acceptance of the conception that there can be *areas* of decision on the various levels within the school structure from the state legislature "down" to the individual child makes such taboos needless. All that is needed is professional respect for the other fellow's area of decision. If this is present, freedom to visit one another's homes is helpful in emphasizing human considerations.

Provision of Opportunities for Teachers to Perceive Children as Children rather than as "Pupils"

The single curriculum. The so-called "single" curriculum is coming to the fore in secondary education. All courses in the school are open to students, provided they are related to the goals of the individual pupil. There are no artificial subdivisions of courses into college, business, or general curriculums. The traditional subdivision of the total program provided choice only of a curriculum. When this was done

the decision stood presumably for the four years of high school attendance. With the single curriculum *each child's program must be worked out each year* in terms of his individual purposes, needs, abilities and interests, and the courses offered. Through this arrangement, attention is continuously focused on the individual child.

Guidance meetings—particularly when the meetings are devoted to the problems of individual children.

Out-of-classroom meetings, such as homeroom meetings, club meetings, school plays, student assembly programs, field trips, games, dances and parties.

Increased knowledge of individual children through study of cumulative folders, home visits, parent-pupil-teacher conferences, parent conferences and talks with other teachers.

Showing of films which present children's problems sympathetically, such as The Feeling of Rejection, The Feeling of Hostility, etc.

Role-playing—particularly through playing the role of a student. In playing the role, insight is frequently achieved into how that particular student *feels.*

Reading of case studies of children which state the problem from the child's point of view.

Reading literature concerning children and youth, for example, *Studs Lonigan, Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man, Two Adolescents, Elmtown's Youth,* and *The Amboy Dukes.*

Taking courses in child and adolescent psychology.

Provision of Opportunities for Fresh Perceptions of the Teaching Role

The teaching role is a role in the same sense that a part in a stage play is a role. Like an actor, the teacher can step into character or step out of it. Evidence of this can be seen in the behavior of teachers who take graduate courses while in service. As students, many teachers will do precisely those things that they criticize their own pupils for doing. They will talk

in class, protest the length of assignments, and hand in work other than their own. How they can remain oblivious to the contradictory nature of their behavior is a source of wonder to observers. Yet they do, and there is an explanation for it. In becoming students, many teachers simply drop the role of "the teacher" and assume the role of "the student." To put it another way, when they are teachers they act like "teachers" and when they are students they act like "students."

The contradictory nature of the teacher's behavior is due to the cultural assumptions upon which the two roles have been structured. These assumptions are that children do not want to "learn" and that teachers must "make" children "learn." Thus teachers and children are automatically thrown into conflict. Since it is human to avoid conflict, teachers who are also students play the two roles interchangeably.

If teachers are to resolve the conflict between the two roles and to learn a new way of playing the teaching role, they must be aided in several ways. First, they must be led to an awareness of how they now play the role. As they become conscious of their own performance, they should be helped to become sensitive to their inner reactions to their own behavior. As they come to accept their feelings, they will tend to become more sensitive to, and accepting of, the responses of children. At this point, it is important that they be presented with many examples of effective teaching from which they may select ideas to try out and perhaps ultimately incorporate into their own teaching behavior.

Provision of opportunities for fresh perceptions of the teaching role then will help teachers to become more aware of their own manner of playing the teaching role and more sensitive to their own reactions to their performance. It will help them to accept the validity of their reactions and the validity of children's responses. It will also help them to discover ways of teaching that will be individually more effective and still professionally acceptable.

The suggestions that follow are made with these purposes in mind.

Opportunities for informal discussion. Teachers generally do not have enough opportunity to talk together. Many of them, particularly in the secondary school, may not even get a chance to know one another by name! It is useless, of course, to think of curriculum development or articulation, coordination or teamwork, until teachers come to know one another as persons.

The curriculum worker should seize every opportunity to bring teachers together informally, whether at a tea, luncheon, picnic, theater party, or old-fashioned "bull session." The atmosphere at these gatherings should of course be warm, friendly, and permissive. There should be no feeling of compulsion to discuss school matters, nor should a "business meeting" follow. Traditional teachers should feel as accepted as modern teachers, older teachers as comfortable as the younger, the "liberal arts" people as welcome as the teachers college people, and newcomers as much at home as the veterans.

On these occasions, teachers will inevitably talk about their teaching problems. Perhaps they will do so guardedly at first, but as they become better acquainted, they will reveal more about themselves and their work. As these revelations are made, many new insights into the teaching role will be shared.

Receiving visitors. Visitors can help teachers to become aware of how they are playing their teaching role. They should be encouraged to ask the teachers questions about their work. If they can do this without implied criticism but purely for the purpose of seeking information, the teachers may be stimulated to do some thinking about their manner of teaching. There should of course be no attempt on the part of the administration to quiz the visitors about their reactions to the teachers' work, and to use the information thus gained as a weapon to force changes in the teachers' behavior.

Observation of classroom teaching. Classroom observation can be useful in connection with a number of the purposes listed previously. By comparing themselves with the teacher in charge of the class, the observers may become conscious of some of their own teaching habits. In sitting among the students in the class they may tend to identify with them and thus receive some insight into children's feelings. Finally, as a result of the observation they may be stimulated to try out new ideas in their own classrooms, not necessarily by copying what they saw, but perhaps by adapting something to their own purposes or even by rejecting something they saw and inventing some new behavior that may be more satisfactory.

It is difficult for teachers to observe modern teaching in action. In the first place it is hard to find schools where modern teaching is done. Secondly, observers usually are able to spend not more than one day observing—and frequently only a few hours. To observe modern teaching properly, at least one week should be spent in the class and preferably one month to six weeks.

Perhaps the most effective way for teachers to observe modern teaching in action is to attend summer workshops where in the six weeks' session may be demonstrated the teaching of a complete unit to a class of children. In this way, the observers can witness a unit planned, executed, and evaluated. Attendance at these workshops is particularly helpful if the teacher-students can participate in the class activities and more lasting in effect if "teams" go.

Visits, while less effective, are nevertheless worth encouraging. Out-of-system visitations are most common but are frequently difficult to arrange and seldom satisfactory. Interschool visits are more advantageous for they develop more understanding of the particular school system. Interclass visits are easiest to arrange but seldom attempted, perhaps because group morale is not high enough to permit such observations without threat to the teachers observed. In spite of these

drawbacks, the visits are stimulating and should be fostered.

Film showings. There are available a number of good films that depict modern teaching in action, such as "The Broader Concept of Method," "We Plan Together," "Near Home," and "Maintaining Classroom Discipline." These films should be used as a basis for discussion, and not as propaganda for the modern point of view in education. For example, in using the film on discipline, one effective device is to stop the projector at the end of the first sequence which shows a teacher getting into difficulties with his class. The teachers present can then be invited to analyze the cause of his problem. After everyone has had a chance to present his ideas and these have been noted on the blackboard, the last sequence or the one which shows how the teacher should have behaved may be projected. Following the meeting, the material on the blackboard may be transcribed, duplicated, and distributed to all members of the staff.

Role-playing. Voluntary role-playing sessions held from time to time are an effective way of developing new insight into the teaching role. Teachers will usually want to act out problems that are common in the classroom, such as dealing with the "bad boy" or the class "clown" or the "heckler." All the teachers present should be encouraged to "try out" various methods of handling the difficulty, and there should be a frank and free discussion of the methods. The curriculum worker should try to direct attention to the causes behind the student's behavior. The question of which method is "best" in dealing with the behavior presented should, of course, be left open.

Reading books about teachers. The reading of fiction in which the characters are teachers may be helpful in developing new insights into the teaching role. The fact that it is fiction removes some of the threat to the teacher's ego that factual material might have. Furthermore, if the reader identifies with one of the characters in the story, new insights may be achieved. Examples of this type of book are *The Thread*

that Runs So True, The Hickory Stick, and *Unseen Harvest.* Plays and movies of this kind might also be stimulating.

Reading descriptions of modern teaching. The reading of professional publications is rewarding when teachers are actively seeking more effective ways of teaching. Specific descriptions of classroom teaching may yield clues that teachers can use in their own work. Books such as *Toward Better Teaching, Freedom to Live and Learn,* and *My Country School Diary* are examples of this type of book. Professional periodicals, of course, contain many articles which give specific material of actual classroom work.

In sum, if throughout these activities the curriculum worker and any other members of the administrative staff can be themselves and not try to play their official roles as "administrators," the members of the teaching staff will be encouraged to give up their official roles as "teachers" and in time both will be liberated to study together as human beings the problem of educating children.

CONCLUSION

As the re-educative process goes on, as relationships of trust and confidence are established, as problems are defined in a permissive, non-threatening atmosphere, as insights are gained and the reality of these insights tested in action, there will be a gradual shift toward more rational methods of investigating and solving problems. As a result, the curriculum will develop, for in the process teachers will grow not only as individuals but as a staff—a team who will work toward the common end of improving the education of boys and girls.

While the teacher is the key figure in improving the experiences of boys and girls, the curriculum worker is the key figure in helping the teacher to grow. He can maintain his dominance or he can help the teacher to become more mature by opening the door to full participation in the life of the school. This is not to say that the task is an easy one. It takes

a secure individual to run the gauntlet of inertia, hostility, and resistance. The practicality of making the school completely democratic has not been generally accepted, and the individual who would attempt it is in for a rough time. However, it is a cause worth working for and can be recommended to those who have the courage to accept the challenge.

APPENDIX

A Description of Role-Playing

Introduction

Role-playing is the acting out of experiences that occur in "real" life, and the analysis of the behavior presented. First used by Moreno, it has been picked up by psychologists such as Lippitt, Bavelas, Hendry, Zander, French, and Bradford, and used in industry, business, and social agencies as a method of diagnosing and treating problems of interpersonal relations. It has many labels, among them "leadership training," "reality practice," "experience practice," and "spontaneity training." The term "role-playing" will be used here, for it is felt that it is the more accurate label.

The Concept of Role

As individuals grow up in society they learn to play their roles in much the same way that a professional actor learns to play a role in a stage play. They learn how to wear a costume appropriate to the role and to use the kind of physical movements that go with it. They learn to speak their "lines" in a socially approved manner, even though they may not accept the values implicit in the "lines." In addition, they learn to move about on the stage setting which is appropriate to the role. An example of this process is seen in action when children "play house."

As the individual matures, there are several roles he must learn. The first is perhaps his *age role.* As he grows, he learns to wear a series of costumes that range from a shirt and wrapper at birth to the complete costume of the adult when he reaches physical maturity. He learns the physical movements appropriate to various age-levels. He learns to "act his age." In learning his "lines" he first learns to talk and then to say his lines in a manner which meets with adult approval. He finds that some things he says are "cute"; others, "naughty." In a similar manner he learns his *sex*

role. He learns to act like a boy or a girl. At three years of age he may play with a doll without disapproval, only to discover at five, if not before, that "little boys don't play with dolls." In like manner, he learns his *occupational role.* This may start in early childhood with playing cowboy or fireman and finish in adult life with the role of superintendent of schools.

Role-playing is a conscious attempt to examine the way an individual plays his role in life in his relations with other individuals.

Importance of Rapport

The first step in the procedure is for the leader or whoever will direct the role-playing to develop rapport with the group if he does not already have it. In the case of groups who have been together for some time and who have developed a group morale, this may be done with a short talk or brief group discussion. With collections of individuals, it may take longer for the leader to relieve the tensions within the group.

When the morale of the group has developed sufficiently and rapport between leader and group has been established, the group is guided into the role-playing aspect of the procedure. Typical symptoms of developing group morale are the directing of attention by the members to a more personal type of problem, or visits by individual members to the leader for personal interviews. Sometimes individual members may question the worth-whileness of the procedure as a sort of "last stand" before giving in to the group feeling, and demand direct answers to their problems from the leader.

Selecting the Situation

The leader asks the group to suggest situations for acting out that have either lingered in their minds as an unsatisfactory experience or are persistently frustrating. These are listed on a blackboard. After all offered are listed, a vote is taken to decide which situation should be played out first.

When the first situation is chosen to be played out, the leader calls on the person who suggested it to name the "cast." Volunteers to play the other parts are then called for from the group.

If there is resistance to playing parts, the leader may use any of several means of overcoming the resistance. He may put himself "on the spot" by playing one of the roles. Or he may cast one role and ask the group to select the others. Another possibility is to

have the person who brought up the problem cast all the roles, including or excluding himself. In some cases, it may be desirable to let that person sit on the sidelines, but if the leader feels it would be helpful to the informant to play the situation, he may question him about a role to the point where the informant volunteers to play it in order to "save time." In some situations it may be wise to have the group select a number of people to play the roles in turn. And some groups may be so shy that it will be necessary to invite them to drop their names in a hat to be called on to play a role.

Practice in Gaining Role Insight

The players may ask the informant such questions as "What are the personality characteristics of the characters to be played?" "What are their attitudes toward each other?" "What is the pattern of participation?" "What is the relationship of the leader to the group?" Or there may be a cooperative defining of the roles. If a typical or hypothetical situation is to be played out, or a personal one in which the characters are known, the group may contribute significant details that will add reality to the roles.

Setting the Stage

After the roles are cast, the players are directed to leave the room to talk over the situation to be played. They are also instructed to set the "stage" appropriately on their return.

While they are out of the room, a discussion is held as to what is to be observed. Some specific things that all may look for may be listed, or certain individuals may be designated to concentrate on specific aspects of the behavior to be presented. The leader suggests that notes be taken for reference during the discussion following the playing. He then calls the players in to play the scene.

Evaluating the Role-Playing

When the scene is played out, there frequently is spontaneous applause for the players. If it does not appear, the leader may set it in motion by applauding. Following that, his first step is to establish the validity of the playing. He asks if it has sufficient reality to make it worth discussing. If its validity is accepted, he throws the discussion open for observations.

In this discussion, the leader directs the discussion but withholds his own reactions. When questions come up, he does not

give answers but turns the question either back to the group for an answer or to the players themselves. He endeavors to protect the ego of the players by rephrasing comments in neutral terms if they become too personal and threaten to hurt the players' feelings.

Re-playing the Situation

Sometimes during the discussion a member of the group will make a suggestion on how he would have played the role if he had been one of the players. In this case, the leader may either invite him to come to the "stage" to show how he would have played it, or he may ask him to do so from where he is sitting.

At other times, the suggestions may be more general and the scene may be re-played by the original group, with the suggestions incorporated in their playing. Sometimes it is wise to switch roles, so that one individual may experience how another individual *felt* in that situation. At other times, a new cast may be called for, or the leader may play one of the parts or several people may substitute for some of the original players.

The Final Discussion

In the final discussion, the performances are compared and any generalizations that may emerge are pooled. As a final note, the leader points out the importance of being on the alert for other situations suitable for playing out. This is suggested so that the members will become more fully aware how they play their roles in "real" life. It will also help to penetrate the problems that are of real concern to the members.

Other Applications

1. *Hendry's approach.* In working with a large group of U.S.O. leaders, Charles Hendry started with the usual method of lecturing to the group. Suddenly he stopped and made himself the "target of aggression" by debunking his own performance and questioning its value. A wave of concern (complacency shock) swept through the crowd. After some discussion, it was decided to make a list of the problems that the workers felt to be most difficult. These were classified and the areas of greatest concern were located. Situations based upon the gripes were then developed and played out on the platform. That the techniques created a strong feeling of spontaneity and identification is indicated by the fact that at one point some members of the audience,

incensed at a decision made by one of the players in a scene, stalked out of the auditorium in protest.[1]

2. *The "interaction awareness" discussion panel.* This is an adaptation of the role-playing idea to the well-known panel-discussion technique. It was devised by Zander for problem exploration with large groups.[2] These factors are added to the usual panel procedure: (*a*) a detailed and specific statement of the problem is given to the panel *before* the meeting; (*b*) the members assume distinct roles at the meeting; and (*c*) a "clarifier" interprets the process and progress of the discussion.

The description of the problem is given to the panel members a few days before the meeting. They read it over and ask questions about the roles but do no rehearsing. The "clarifier" is introduced and an opportunity is given the members to "talk things over" with him. One of the members is made a "fact reservoir" concerning the problem.

At the public meeting, the detailed description of the problem is read to the audience, and the performance begins under the direction of a chairman who operates as is usual in a panel discussion.

The "clarifier" interrupts the proceedings, at any point he deems advisable, to point out to the audience significant change in the direction of the discussion, progress made, or anything that does not deal with content or validity. He does not express a contrary point of view nor does he make a summary. He simply clarifies for the audience the *process* that is taking place on the stage.

The advantages of this technique are that it can create a strong atmosphere of spontaneity and good humor and give the audience a more exact and accurate understanding of the problem.

3. *The "quickie."* This may be played in an hour to an hour and a half. A situation familiar to the group is selected. A short script is written and rehearsed by "actors." The situation is played in three different ways illustrating three possible methods of handling that particular situation.

In the group discussion that follows the differences between the

[1] Charles E. Hendry, Ronald Lippitt, and Alvin Zander, *Reality Practice as Educational Method; Some Principles and Applications. Psychodrama Monograph,* No. 9 (Beacon, N.Y., Beacon House, 1944).

[2] Alvin Zander, "The Interaction-Awareness Discussion Panel," *Journal of Social Psychology,* 19 (February, 1944) pp. 369–75.

three methods are made clear. Then the methods are compared for effectiveness, and opinions are sought. The next step is to ask if any member would have handled it differently. Volunteers are invited to show how they would have dealt with the situation. A final discussion is then held to evaluate any insights gained.

Advantages of the Technique

Perhaps the first advantage of the role-playing technique is that it is so simple. Behavior can be presented without resort to elaborate preparation, such as film-showing requires, for example. Second, it tends to "get at" problems of behavior rather than ending in an intellectual battle, such as a group discussion is apt to do. Third, it is fun. Because of its spontaneity, remarks are very frequently made which delight the on-lookers. This has the effect of removing the rigidity from the situation and tends to lower resistance to the ideas that emerge. Participation spreads among the group as the rigidity is loosened. Finally, it requires no great skill to direct. Anyone with some dramatic sense can direct the group.

The advantage to the leader is that he can observe and diagnose the real-life "role style" of each group member. He can assign different roles in accordance with individual needs. He can continuously test the progress of each member.

The advantage to the group-member is that he can observe many styles of role-playing in a short period of time under identical conditions. Furthermore, he can observe his own style without defensiveness and perfect new styles of behavior under immediate and continuous guidance before trying them out in "real" life on the job.

Role-Playing as an Educational Method

There is increasing awareness of the fact that a teaching method should be consistent with the educational objective to be attained. For example, a film is an excellent way of showing a process in action but a poor way of studying an object in detail. Role-playing is an effective way of studying and practicing behavior, which the lecture method is not. Second, it is becoming increasingly apparent that neither a school class nor a school staff is a mere collection of individuals but a structured group with a culture of its own. Role-playing is a method that can provide the common learning experiences through which the group culture can be changed.

Conclusion

Role-playing is a new technique but an old idea. It attempts to utilize the method used by children since time immemorial in learning their social roles—"you be the father, and I'll be the mother. . . ." As an educational method, it opens up a new area in education, an area which lies between talk and action. With it "old" behavior can be analyzed and new behavior tested for effectiveness before being tried out in "real" life.

USING ROLE-PLAYING IN THE SCHOOL

The following are some ways in which role-playing has been used in schools:

As an Aid to Expression

A basic problem to adolescents is a feeling of inadequacy in expressing themselves. By assuming roles, their self-consciousness seems to be removed or at least diminished to the point where they feel free to talk. Problems can then be played out, such as "How do you get rid of a leech at a dance without hurting his feelings?" "How can you get a boy to ask for a date without seeming too much like an eager beaver?" "How do you ask a girl for a date?" "How do you ask a girl to a dance or for a dance?"

As a Way of Preparing for Important Contacts

The presentation of an individual or class problem to another teacher or to a principal can be rehearsed so that it can be placed before the other person clearly and effectively. This method can also be used to prepare students to interview local officials or other community adults. Its use as a way of learning how to apply for a job is obvious. Another effective use of the technique has been to forearm students for panel discussions before an adult audience. Teachers play the role of the adults and ask questions aimed at upsetting the students. In this way, thinking is clarified and students learn to keep their poise in the face of any adult hostility they may encounter.

As a Way of Studying Group Dynamics

By asking various group members to assume roles, it is possible to study more objectively the factors that tend to block or facilitate group thinking and discussion. The role seems to protect the feelings of the individuals involved.

As a Supervisory Technique

A group of teachers can meet to discuss methods of handling discipline problems. One teacher, for example, can play the role of the "class clown" while other teachers play related or supporting roles. They then take turns showing how each would handle the problem. Following this, there can be a discussion of which technique the group agrees is the most effective.

As a Way of Preparing for the Return to the Classroom after a Counseling Session

The problem frequently arises, following a counseling session, as to what a boy or girl is going to say to the teacher or to his friends upon his return to class. It is helpful to rehearse this, with the counselor playing the role of the teacher or "one of the guys," until "lines" have been worked out which seem to be effective both to the counselor and to the student.

Because students are frequently unsure of just what they should reveal to their teachers or to their friends following a counseling session, they are apt to hide their true feelings behind such statements as "I gave him a big line and he fell for it," or "He just asked me a lot of silly questions but I wouldn't tell him anything." Such statements, of course, impede the establishment of close relations between the guidance office and the student body.

As a Way of Interpreting the Work of the School to Parents

Parents of present-day high school students find it difficult to understand clearly the work of guidance counselors and are therefore somewhat suspicious of them. Two conferences were role-played by the counselors at a parents' meeting. The first revealed a counseling situation between a boy who was planning to study engineering and enter his father's firm, although all his records showed that he did not have the pattern of abilities needed for becoming a successful engineer. The data did show, however, that he would very likely be successful in journalism or a related field. The second scene showed the counselor conferring with the irate father, who accused the school of getting his son "all confused." He had him all set for engineering and now the school wanted him to become a newspaper reporter, who "everybody knows are just a lot of drunken bums." The basic approach to counseling and the skill of the counselor in working through to a satisfactory agreement were clearly revealed.

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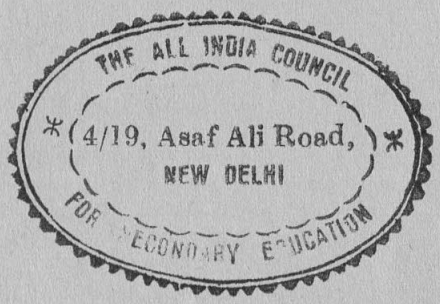
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